

JPRS-NEA-92-094
23 JULY 1992



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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

INDIA

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International Affairs

KGB Role in Anti-U.S. Protests Revealed

92AS1185A Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Jun 92
p 1

[Article by Vladimir Radyuhin]

[Text] Moscow, June 10—The Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) had a secret fund for "special operations" in India, which among other things involved staging anti-American protests.

According to the latest revelations in the Soviet press, in 1969 the KGB chief, Mr. Yuri Andropov, sought clearance from the Soviet leadership to organise a mass rally in New Delhi in protest against the burning of a mosque in Jerusalem.

The liberal Russian weekly MOSCOW NEWS in today's issue carried a secret letter from Mr. Andropov to the CPSU Central Committee dated August 28, 1969, which said in part: "The KGB station in India is in a position to organise on this occasion a protest manifestation in front of the U.S. Embassy in India in which up to 20,000 Muslims will take part. The manifestation will involve expenses of Rs. 5,000 that will be covered from the CPSU Central Committee appropriations for special operations in India in 1969-1971."

The paper did not say if the proposal was accepted neither did it clarify what other "special operations" the CPSU financed in India or if the earlier mentioned Dollar handouts to Indian Communists came from the same fund.

However, another document published by MOSCOW NEWS gave an idea of the sort of KGB operations that the CPSU used to finance in the developing countries. In March 1989, the KGB chief, Mr. Vladimir Kryuchkov, informed the CPSU General Secretary, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, that the Central Committee's financial support to Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party enabled the latter to win eight times more seats in Parliament in the general elections earlier that year.

In the same letter, Mr. Kryuchkov reported that the KGB also paid the way to Parliament for "a number of KGB confidants belonging both to the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the United National Party." The KGB chief quoted Mrs. Bandaranaike who had thanked Moscow for support and assured it that her party would take advantage of its increased influence in parliament to block the pro-Western foreign policy and the anti-democratic domestic course of the ruling United National Party.

The current wave of exposures of CPSU support for foreign communist parties and left-wing terrorist organisations has been started by the Russian Government in an effort to prove that the President, Mr. Boris Yeltsin,

had ample reason to ban the CPSU last year without a court ruling. Last month, the Constitutional Court of Russia opened hearings on a suit filed by former communists against the ban.

However, the unprecedented disclosure of recent KGB documents, which may not only undermine current operations of the Russian secret service, but affect Moscow's relations with other countries, suggests that Mr. Yeltsin is out to discredit his former arch-rival, Mr. Gorbachev, and possibly have him tried for CPSU misdeeds. Last week, Mr. Yeltsin warned Mr. Gorbachev of unspecified sanctions against him if he did not stop criticising the Russian Government's reforms.

U.S. Motivation in Opposing Rocket Technology Analyzed

92AS1004A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 10, 11, 12, 13 May 92

[Article by Soumya Bandyopadhyay: "This Rocket Technology Is Only for Launching a Satellite"; quotation marks as published]

[10 May pp 1, 7]

[Text] Whatever the Russian foreign minister Gennadiy Burbulis may say, India is anxiously passing time to see whether Boris Yeltsin will ultimately break down under the pressure from President George Bush or not. The defeat of Yeltsin in the war of nerves will mean that India will not get rocket technology although it will not put India in a disastrous condition, the work on the project of INSAT-2 will certainly be postponed for next five years. Additional expenses will also increase.

According to the pact, the rocket engine and the technology that India is going to get from Russia is called the "Cryogenic Rocket Engine." After two years' effort to get this engine, finally in January of last year, a pact was signed between the Soviet Union's space research center "Glavkosmos" and the Indian space research center "ISRO." According to the pact, India will pay Russia 250 million US dollars in installments. India has already paid a part of it, of which the value in Indian currency is 400 million rupees.

There is no reason to assume that India made the pact with Soviet Union just for the sake of friendship. The pact was signed mainly for two reasons. First, Russia's price was the minimum one; second, they could transfer the technology in the least possible time. It should be mentioned here that it was not the case that France and America were against supplying this technology. But the price they wanted for it was extremely high. "Ariane Space" of France wanted 800 crores of rupees, and "General Dynamics" of America wanted 100 crore more. (All of these prices were asked for two and a half years ago; the present price might be higher). Moreover, France and America did not agree to transfer technology within a short period of time as agreed to by Russia. Apart from those three countries, India wanted to get

this cryogenic engine from Britain, Germany, and Japan. But none of them agreed to transfer this technology because of the fear of America. It means that India had no other alternative but to sign an agreement with "Glavkosmos."

The cryogenic engine is needed to put a satellite into a particular orbit. After passing an initial distance of a satellite carrying rocket, this engine starts, functioning as a booster. This type of engine is essential to put satellites like INSAT into orbit 25,000 km above the earth. Because India did not have this kind of engine or launching system, all Indian satellites were put into orbit launched from a foreign country. And India had to spend lot of money for the charges of launching the satellites. If India can get cryogenic engine and its technology, she will not have to depend on other countries to launch her satellites. India will be able to meet her demand by herself. Moreover, there is a possibility that by renting launching technology, India can earn a lot of money in foreign exchange in future. As the INSAT satellites are considered essential for all kinds of communications systems like telecommunications, television-radio, etc. and for predicting the weather conditions, the Indian space researchers and the central government consider getting cryogenic engine technology equally essential.

The amount of money that has to be spent to launch a satellite, appears to be a luxury for a country like India. There was a time when the fees charged by America to launch a satellite were the highest. The charge was in the range of 30 to 35 million dollars per launch. American goodwill in this respect was damaged to a large extent in 1984 when they put two satellites—one of Western Union and the other of Indonesia—into wrong orbits. Before recovering the goodwill, the American space shuttle "Challenger" was destroyed just after launching. Ceasing that opportunity, France increased their fees to 40 million dollars per launching. But their records are also spotty. Four satellites out of the first 18 launched by Ariane Space fell into the ocean after launching. The price charged by the Soviet Union was much less in comparison to the fees charged by America or France. The Soviet Union's charge was 30 million dollars per launching. That price was 25 percent less than those of America and France. To avoid the high cost of launching and the problem of waiting in the line after booking, from the time of Rajiv Gandhi India began to consider developing her own launching capability of satellites. To realize that idea, in the beginning of the last year, India signed a contract with "Glavkosmos." Now, America is trying to foil that contract; it is issuing threat after threat to ISRO of India and Glavkosmos of Russia.

[11 May p 1]

[Text] Being angered at the deal of trading cryogenic rocket technology, America at first issued threats to Russia. They were told that they cannot sell this technology to India. India, on the other hand, was asked not to buy this technology. America said that their objection about this matter must be obeyed because this deal is

illegal. Even after this, if this deal occurs, America will punish both, ISRO and Glavkosmos of India and Russia, respectively. This punishment means that America will not honor any contract previously made with these two centers, will not help in any respect, will not transfer any technology, and will not maintain any relations with these two centers. In a word, India's ISRO and Russia's Glavkosmos will be put on the "black list."

The question is why is America issuing these threats or do they have any authority to do this? Russia will sell the rocket and its technology and India will buy them. Where is America coming from in this deal and why she is issuing threats—these kinds of questions may justifiably arise and, in fact, did. Before explaining the reasons behind this elder brotherly attitude of America, we must accept it, whether we agree with it or not, that America has some legal grounds to issue these threats. Neither Russia nor India is raising any question about that right. The question is raised on the issue of whether this kind of American objection is applicable in this case of a pact between India and Russia. Both India and Russia hold the view that the American objection is irrelevant in this case. It means that the threats are unjustified. This view has been presented to America. But President George Bush and his government are not willing to agree to this logic. They are still holding their own viewpoint.

In 1987, mainly on American initiative, seven countries of the world signed a pact to keep their missile technology within their own controls. These seven countries are America, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Canada, and Japan. The name of the pact is Missile Technology Control Regime, or in short, MTCR. The basic idea of the pact is that these countries will not sell rocket technology that can carry a payload of 250 km or over and can deliver it to a distance of 500 hundred miles [as published] and above. The reason for this pact was that this technology would inspire other countries to manufacture long-range missiles that would destabilize the military balance of power of the world. It must be kept in mind that when the pact was signed, the cold war between America and Soviet Union was still intact. The Soviet Union, naturally, did not sign this pact, although she was invited to do so. China also did not sign. But later, the Soviet Union and China agreed "in principle" to the justification of this pact and promised to maintain it. It was said in the pact that America reserves the right to punish anyone who breaches the contract. America has already used this power on several occasions.

In spite of agreeing to maintain this pact, in the beginning of 1991 when the Soviet Union and India reached an agreement about the transfer of technology, America did not come forward to use her authority in such a manner. Why didn't she? The answer is very simple. Until then the Soviet Union existed, the communists were in power, and Mikhail Gorbachev was in full control of the communist bloc. Actually America wanted to wait longer. The wait was for the breakup of the Soviet Union and the end of communist rule. The moment that break was complete, the communists lost their power,

Russia sought help from the IMF to walk in the path of a market economy, the crown of "superpower" fell from her head, and the Bush administration came forward to issue threats. The economic conditions of both India and Russia are equally bad. Both countries are sunk in loans from the World Bank and IMF. Yeltsin's Russia and Narasimha Rao's India know well that there is no way to survive without seeking help from America. And this fact is also known to George Bush. So, being knowledgeable, Bush pressures and issues threats to stop the transfer of rocket technology.

[12 May p 7]

[Text] In the middle of the last month, Washington issued its threat against the transfer of rocket technology to Moscow. At present, probably the condition of President Boris Yeltsin is worse than the condition of Russia. At first, he was shaken by the American threat and asked Glavkosmos to stop the technology transfer. Just a few days ago, mainly on American initiative, 29 billion dollars were declared to be given as aid to restructure the Russian economy. President Yeltsin's order for temporarily halting the set program of technology transfer to India came because Russia feared losing promised financial help from America. India's strong objection and the immediate visit of Dr. U.R. Rao, the secretary of the department of India's space research to Moscow to continue negotiations with Russian officials resulted in the withdrawal of the previous order of halting the transfer of technology. Side by side, it was declared by Glavkosmos that there was no question of changing of the decision of selling the technology to India. In spite of some problems, India will get the cryogenic engine. During his visit to India, the Russian Foreign Minister Mr. Gennadiy Burbulis repeated the Russian stand, which assured India. India got such strong assurance from Russia that just after the departure of Mr. Burbulis, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao declared in parliament that in spite of American objections India was going to get the technology of the cryogenic engine.

The logic put forward by India and Russia from the very beginning failed to convince America. We said that this cryogenic engine would only be used in nonmilitary activities. This engine would only be used to put satellites into orbit and would never be used in missiles. We repeatedly said that we have no interest in using this engine in launching missiles. Because, without the cryogenic engine, we have already built our "Agni" and "Prithwi" missiles. We do not need to build further long-range missiles. Russia also said the same thing. Russia reasoned with America that there should not be any reason to disbelieve the intentions of a country that mastered nuclear technology in 1974 but still did not manufacture a nuclear bomb. India can be believed without any doubt that the cryogenic engine will be used only for space research.

America, of course, did not accept the logic put forward by India and Russia. The American Embassy in New Delhi clearly stated, "We cannot go beyond the pact. The

American Congress ratified the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) pact. There is a provision to inflict punishment on the violator of the terms of the pact. There is no way to deny the fact that the technology India is going to get clearly violates that pact. Naturally we have to take some steps. We may also declare the punishment even before the pact is violated." Although it was not said officially, but it has been understood from the American side that after the Gulf war, America wanted to follow the MTCR pact more strictly. They might not have been so strict, if there hadn't been a Gulf war against Saddam Husayn.

Whatever reasons or counter-reasons there might be, there is no doubt that this cryogenic engine can easily be used in missiles. It runs by a fuel made of a mixture of liquid hydrogen and oxygen. With the help of this fuel a satellite can be placed high in space, a missile can be launched to a far distant place. So, for the sake of argument, we cannot say that what America is saying is unjustified. In the future we may use cryogenic technology in missiles. We tried to apply this logic and ease American apprehension by our past record. Russia also tried to do the same. But America is not convinced and is determined to declare sanctions.

No one knows better than America how solid our reasons are. A cryogenic engine should have been prepared at least 90 days ago for fueling. That means that it takes three months to prepare the launch of a cryogenic rocket. This kind of preparation can be detected by any modern spying satellite. At the present time, nobody takes 90 days to prepare an attack. America knows this very well.

After knowing all of this, why then is George Bush issuing threats? After knowing that at present there is no power on the earth that can come close to America in military power, why then is America threatening a weak country like India? What does the administration of the most powerful country in the world hope to achieve by this?

The motives are different. America has to keep her authoritative power in the world, India should not be allowed to become powerful in South Asia, and, above all, Bush has to get reelected to the presidency against different odds. The Indian foreign ministry believes that these reasons, however small or big, worked in the mind of the American administration when taking this stand. Although Russia wants to go further to understand the matter.

Although Yeltsin did not say this, the experts of his country and the scientists of the Russian space center Glavkosmos believe that the Bush administration wants to start a "trade war" against them. This matter is not a happy one to them. Because the problem of cryogenic technology has taken the shape of a double-edged blade. What can Mr. Boris Yeltsin do?

[13 May p 5]

[Text] What Mr. Boris Yeltsin will do—this question is now hanging in the balance. He is realizing that in spite of stretching the hand of help to strengthen his regime, George Bush is trying to start a war of trade with Russia. When Yeltsin ascended to power by declaring decree after decree in order to oust Gorbachev, the communists maintained silence and waited for a proper opportune moment. They are gradually assembling on the streets. They have started to openly criticize the authorities after getting a taste of democracy. He is getting pressure from Glavkosmos and from other circles not to succumb to the unjustified American pressure.

Although the Russian Government is in a bit of a dilemma, Glavkosmos is still strongly in favor of transferring the technology to India. The Indian foreign ministry is not 100 percent sure about the fact whether the scientists of Glavkosmos are communists or are against Yeltsin. But news has reached the authorities that in the third week of April the South Block sent a protest to the Russian parliament. That protest carried two accusations—(1) President Yeltsin ordered the cancellation of the pact without consulting the scientists, and, (2) America was trying to keep the space market within its control by applying such pressures. It was also said in the protest letter that if the pact is canceled in such a manner, the longstanding good relationship with India is bound to break down. The Glavkosmos has not yet received any reply to this letter. This attitude of the space research center of Russia gave India hope. Moreover the scientists of Glavkosmos stressed another point. They mentioned a letter of the American government as proof that this transfer of technology did not fall under the jurisdiction of the MTCR pact. Two years ago, General Dynamics was allowed to take part in a tender for the cryogenic engine. A copy of that letter of the American government is in the hands of the Indian Government.

Why is Glavkosmos so eager to transfer this technology? The Indian foreign ministry thinks that if the deal is canceled, the Glavkosmos does not have the ability to absorb the financial loss. There is already a large-scale cut in the budget of space research. If this 250-million-dollar contract with India is canceled, many Glavkosmos scientists might lose their jobs. So, in their own interests, they are very eager for the materialization of this pact. The South Block also thinks that the accusation of trade war brought forward against America is not at all unfounded. According to them, "You cannot just reject this altogether. Glavkosmos has been complaining against American discrimination for a long time. If any American company or any country of the Third World wants to launch a satellite made of American parts from any Russian launching pad, America does not agree to that. This American disagreement could have been accepted as logical during the cold war. But now, why isn't America agreeing to this? Glavkosmos considers this an example of discrimination. According to them, America wants to damage Russian

goodwill in the space market, so that they can secure the whole market for themselves." The foreign ministry has just received from Dr. Glary Shirokov, the deputy director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of Moscow, a statement which said, "To enter into the international and Asian technological market has become a life-and-death question to Russia. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, the domestic market has shrunk to a large extent. Under these circumstances, it is very difficult to keep the high-tech industry alive." All of this means that the motive behind these American threats is designed to keep Russia away from the space market.

Side by side, what are we thinking? The Indian foreign ministry and the space scientists think that since America is trying to keep Russia away from the space market, she also does not want any country in South Asia to get this highly developed technology, especially India. Because they know that if India gets this technology, she will enter the space market of the world within next two decades. India has that capability. America does not want to increase competitors in business market. Because they did not want this from the very beginning, they formulated the MTCR pact to protect their own interests. But this they did in the name of world peace.

The South Block is hopeful. The Indian leadership still thinks that in spite of George Bush's two-year sanction, Yeltsin will be able to stand firm on his feet after absorbing the pressure of nerves. Because it will be difficult for him to comply with the American desire after rejecting the pressure from inside the country. We can use our will power to keep him straight. Besides, we have nothing to do. Our only desire is to get the cryogenic engine, and in this regard, Yeltsin must keep his head straight in spite of American pressure.

Generals Discuss Defense Cooperation With U.S.

92AS1189A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 9 Jun 92 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, 8 June (PTI): The United States wants India as a reliable partner to play a significant role in south and south east Asia and there is no likelihood of undue pressure being put on India for signing the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] and Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), feel top Indian defence strategists.

Five top former Army and Air Force officers including the recently-retired Vice Chief of the Army Staff, Lt. Gen. V.K. Sood, Lt. Gen. I.S. Gill, Lt. Gen. M.L. Chibber, Maj. Gen. E. D'Souza and Air Marshal Vir Narain feel that more concrete "services to services evolving relationship" between the United States and India could act as a major deterrent to regional flare-ups and also help in dissolving serious militancy problems currently being faced by India.

Commenting on the emerging Indo-U.S. defence tie-ups in the latest issue of the prestigious defence quarterly, Indian Defence Review, the defence strategists say that the initiative of Indo-U.S. defence cooperation was a

start for building confidence in each other to overcome the excessive suspicion that has marked the relationships between the two countries so far.

Gen. Sood is of the opinion that as a consequence of the proposed defence cooperation, there was no likelihood of the United States putting pressure on India to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) or the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).

He felt that with the supplies from the erstwhile Soviet Union drying up, India has approached the United States for transfer of technology of the state-of-art "force multipliers" for combat effectiveness, but in the present economic climate, the country was going slow on this.

He foresaw a slash in size of order of force multipliers, but for the present, Gen. Sood said the Indian army was looking more urgently for self-propelled 155mm guns and fire control radar for its strike formations.

The former vice chief of the army staff felt that the advantage gained from expanding Indo-U.S. defence cooperation would generate a meaningful pro-India lobby at the state department and the Pentagon, which would help in dissolving opposition from Congress to the sale of this weapon systems.

Gen. Sood said from the meetings with the U.S. defence officials, certain American sensitivities could be read between the lines, their considerable concern over the spread of Muslim fundamentalism, specially a large portion of the Islamic states creating a formidable bloc.

The former vice chief said that America perceived that there could be frightening scenarios as some of these Islamic states had available nuclear know-how and declared intentions of some of these states to produce nuclear weapons.

Gen. Sood said that there was also a strong sentiment among American defence officials that communism would collapse in China like the Soviet Union and more so especially after the death of the strongman Deng Xiaoping.

Lt. Gen. I.S. Gill felt that to give more meaningful substance to the Indo-U.S. ties, India would have to give up its anti-American stand, sign the NPT, and come to terms with China on border issue on a give-and-take basis, settle Kashmir question by dividing it and give up what he called phoney Pro-Arab stand.

Lt. Gen. M.L. Chibber, former northern army commander, wrote that Indians should view the army-to-army cooperation with the United States with a degree of self-confidence that "befits our regional and world image." He felt that India-U.S. cooperation was not an anti-Pakistan move.

Gen. Chibber felt that cooperation between the Pakistan army and the U.S. Central command was as close as it was before and would continue to be so. "What is happening is that low level of interaction between Indian

and American armed forces is upgraded to the same if not to a higher level and that there was a major benefit in the new equation."

Maj. Gen. E. D'Souza, a war hero of the Indo-Pak conflict of 1965, said though he supported the current trend of openness between Indian and U.S. military, it was in India's interest to ensure that its armed forces culture was not Americanised. He said that collaboration should be restricted to the field of developing training doctrine, technological development and that it should not be allowed to pressurise India into signing the NPT.

Gen. D'Souza said that stress in the growing cooperation should be laid on developing naval ties in the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean and that national security considerations should be scrupulously respected.

He said the presence of U.S. military personnel on Indian territory, if envisaged, should be purely as observers and not to train Indian soldiers.

Air marshal Vir Narain, former air officer commanding in chief training command, said it would be a pity if the U.S. were to allow the NPT and MCTR issue to hamper the progress of Indo-U.S. cooperation. He felt that situations could arise where the U.S. and India herself may see the achievement of nuclear weapons status by India as a balancing and a stabilising factor in Asia.

He said in more practical and immediate terms, the real coincidence of Indo-U.S. defence cooperation and interests were perhaps in arms trade. He foresaw a considerable potential for growth in the transfer of arms and technology adding that if this has to be consolidated there had to be a greater degree of commonality of equipment between the two countries.

U.S. Missile Technology Control Policy Scored

92AS1188A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
23 May 92 p 3

[Article by Seema Sirohi]

[Text] Washington, 22 May: Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), under which the United States is trying to prevent India from acquiring rocket engines, specifically excludes legitimate space programmes from its ambit.

"The MTCR guidelines are not designed to impede national space programmes or international cooperation in such programmes as long as such programmes could not contribute to nuclear weapons delivery systems," says a copy of the MTCR document obtained by THE TELEGRAPH.

Interpretation of this critical sentence is the crux of the problem among the three countries involved—India, the U.S. and Russia. Washington has chosen to interpret this line in the narrowest possible manner and its experts have chosen to link India's space programme with its missile capability. They have not emphasised the first

part of the sentence which says that MTCR guidelines are "not designed to impede national space programme or international cooperation."

Another interesting twist is added by the U.S. law covering the MTCR restrictions which was passed in the form of the "National Defence Authorisation Act for the fiscal year 1991." This law takes away what the MTCR guidelines permit for civilian space programmes.

While the MTCR guidelines say that national space programmes are legitimate, the law itself makes no distinction between missile technology and space launch vehicles. It focuses only on "capability," making a mockery of the U.S. claim that civilian space programmes are valid. No country has the miraculous capability to abide by this U.S. law and also manage to launch its own satellites. But this is considered "hair-splitting" by impatient U.S. officials who consider even reasonable questions irrelevant.

U.S. officials have not clarified how cryogenic rocket engines can be used in missile programmes when no country has used this technology with its 90-day fuel cycle in a military situation. Every legitimate question by Indian journalists at the daily state department briefing has elicited the stock reply: "This is our law."

The bigger question which arises from the crucial sentence excluding space programmes is what kind of space programmes do Americans consider legitimate? After decades of successful satellite launches, surely U.S. officials do not think that the Indian Space Research Organisation [ISRO] is a front for the Indian defence ministry. It is older than New Delhi's missile programme.

An even bigger question is how developing countries can aspire to having satellite launch capability if Washington adopts this posture of denial with no reference to reality.

A reading of the MTCR guidelines and its formidable 28-page list of items that are barred to non-members shows that it is a broad document under which anyone can be denied anything. At the MTCR's fifth plenary meeting held in Washington in November, the list was extended further to include any systems that can be used even in short-range missiles.

The earlier list included items that were capable of delivering at least a 500 kg payload to a range of at least 300 km. But in congressional testimony on April this year, the undersecretary of state for international security affairs, Mr. Reginald Bartholomew, said that MTCR members had approved a revised "equipment and technology annex of controlled items. The members" agreed on the desirability of extending the scope of the MTCR guidelines to missiles capable of delivering any weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and biological as well as nuclear warheads," he reported.

The guidelines are so broad and the implications so wideranging that non-members could be easily denied

legitimate systems which do not have military applications. There are two categories in the list and the first category contains items of the "greatest sensitivity," according to the document.

"Particular restraint will be exercised in the consideration of Category 1 transfers and there will be a strong presumption to deny such transfers," it says. Category 1 production facilities will not be authorised under any circumstances while other items in the same category will be licensed on "rare occasions" and where the government obtains binding undertakings.

Even under this water-tight language, there is a provision to give technology if there are strict undertakings by the recipient to not use the technology in a military programme. Russia and India both were willing to give and obtain such explicit promises but this was not enough for U.S. officials.

Russian officials had also offered to allow inspection of the engines by international experts but there was no U.S. reaction in return. It is clear that law is a matter of interpretation and Washington has chosen to throw the book in New Delhi's face while nodding at wholesale Chinese selling of missiles to Pakistan.

Admiral Lauds U.S.-India Joint Naval Exercise

92AS1179A Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
4 Jun 92 p 11

[Text] New Delhi—India and the United States plan to have more advanced naval exercises, the dates for which would be fixed at the next joint Indo-U.S. naval steering committee meeting to be held later this year, according to Vice Admiral B. Guha, Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff.

Describing the just concluded first Indo-U.S. naval exercises between Cochin and Goa as "highly satisfactory," Admiral Guha told newsmen that officers and sailors had, "learnt training and operational profiles, battle techniques and damage control from each other."

The Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff who is the joint chairman of the Indo-U.S. Naval Steering Committee said the exercises codenamed, "Malabar-92" were conducted in a seaman-like professional manner and included manoeuvring the combined formations at high speed, transferring stores while in passage, simulated anti-aircraft firing, practice in the forming of a protective anti-submarine screen around ships and helicopter borne operations.

Admiral Guha said the U.S. Navy was keen on enlarging the scope and type of joint exercises adding that the Indian navy shared the view. He said such exercises need to be conducted in a programmed manner as battle doctrine and practices differed due to diverse equipment, ships and aircraft.

He said India was prepared to hold future exercises deep in the Indian Ocean off the Mauritius coast and said the

venue and the date for advanced exercises in which submarines and aircraft might take part would be decided soon.

The Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff said the exercises were held for 24 hours outside the territorial waters of India off the west coast and after this, during the American naval ships berthing at Goa, "valuable discussions were held on damage control, hull maintenance and search and rescue procedure."

He said there were a lot of spin offs from the joint exercises not only in tactical operations but also on learning about ships designs and materials used in shipbuilding.

Admiral Guha said the opportunity provided by the joint exercises was a chance for two professional navies to meet and discuss issues in a "healthy and forthright manner."

"Sailors from the two navies were very happy to observe the similarity in views between the two navies," he added.

The Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff said the American sailors and officers were "much impressed" with the Indian Navy's indigenous multi-purpose frigate INS Gomti, which combines eastern and western technologies in shipbuilding."

The discussions and exercises were fruitful and both sides feel that more joint exercises would be beneficial and would help in promoting better ties and understanding," Admiral Guha said.

Admiral Guha recalled that Indian navy had begun conducting joint exercises in addition to sending Indian warships on goodwill visits to other countries.

He said the series of joint exercises began with joint naval manoeuvres being conducted with Indonesian warships off Subrayaya in 1989, with Australian navy off the Andaman coast in 1990 and then recently with French and British warships off the Bombay coast.

Admiral Guha asserted that the joint exercises in no way impinged or compromised on the country's sovereignty as "no military alliances are being entered into."

Indo-Swedish Joint Panel Meets, Protocol Signed
92AS1186A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 May 92 p 7

[Text] Stockholm, 28 May (UNI)—The tenth session of the Indo-Swedish Joint Commission for Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation ended yesterday, with the signing of a protocol by the heads of the two delegations—Prof. P.J. Kurien, Minister of State for Industry, and Mr. Dinkelspiel, Swedish Minister for Foreign Trade and European Affairs.

In his address, Prof. Kurien informed the Swedish delegation about recent developments in the Indian

economy, the Government's economic policy and India's far-reaching reform programmes.

The policy of economic liberalisation and the deregulations pursued by the Government were particularly emphasized by the Minister. He also highlighted the Indian position and active work in multilateral as well as the positive development of bilateral relations with Sweden bringing into focus various steps taken, recently, towards this purpose.

Mr. Dinkelspiel, in turn welcomed the economic liberalisation and extensive reform process pursued by India. He informed the Indian delegation of the recent economic development in Sweden and Sweden's intention to become a member of the European Community by 1995. He assured the Indian delegation that EEC [European Economic Community] membership would in no way change the Swedish concept and practice of open trade.

Both the ministers expressed considerable concern over the delayed negotiations in the Uruguay round and keenly hoped for an early conclusion of the current ongoing GATT negotiations. At the same time, the two ministers expressed their satisfaction with the recent development within UNCTAD [United Nations Conference for Trade and Development].

The two ministers commented, but rather briefly, on the positive development of bilateral relations between India and Sweden in the area of trade. They underlined the need for expansion in this field and diversification of bilateral trade.

In this connection, Prof. Kurien stressed on India's interest in increasing the export of computer software and marine technology and equipment on a more equitable basis.

Prof. Kurien and Mr. Dinkelspiel advocated that the joint business council between India and Sweden should appoint a working group for the purpose of stimulating joint ventures between the two countries.

Content of Rao Madrid Talk With Spanish Leader Noted

92AS1197A Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Jun 92 p 9

[Article by Anand K. Sahay; boldface words as published]

[Text] Madrid, 11 June: The hour-long meeting the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, had with the Spanish Acting Prime Minister and Vice-President, Mr. N. Serra, here last evening turned out to be more side-ranging than anticipated. Besides a detailed exposition of the changes in the Indian economy that enhance the possibility of trade and investments between the two

countries, the two leaders covered useful ground on the new patterning of international relations in the post-cold war era.

The role of restructuring the United Nations, and of its peace-keeping force came up for discussion in this context. The two leaders agreed that the U.N. force should play a supervisory role and refrain from getting embroiled in conflicts.

Mr. Serra sought Mr. Rao's appreciation of the emerging situation in the Central Asian Republics and Afghanistan. Mr. Rao informed Mr. Serra that India's aid to Afghanistan was continuing and that India desired stability in that country.

The question of terrorism and separatism is also understood to have been discussed at some length, though Mr. Rao did not refer to Pakistan by name. However, the Spanish leadership appears to have shown a complete understanding of the situation on the ground Mr. Serra went so far as to suggest that unlike the case in the subcontinent, Spain's neighbour, France, had adopted a cooperative rather than an antagonistic role in dealing with Basque separatism. The contrast was made only too vivid.

Support sought: Besides Spain, New Zealand and Sweden are understood to be candidates for the Security Council membership at the time of the next rotation, and Spain sought India's cooperation to back its candidature.

India is understood to have told the Spanish leadership that it would be possible for it to make a decision nearer the time for the vote. However, India believes that Spain's role in Europe is now more enhanced than before.

Besides Mr. Rao's meeting with Mr. Serra, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. J.N. Dixit, also had a detailed practical session with Mr. Francisco Willar, Secretary-General in the Foreign Office here. This meeting was specially arranged by the Spanish side. In this meeting, the situation in Yugoslavia is understood to have been discussed at length in the context of stability of Europe.

PTI, UNI report:

Mr. Rao addressing the members of the Indian community here on Wednesday night asserted that the Indian economy, which was on the verge of collapse a year ago, had regained its vitality as a result of the economic reforms.

He said the economic reforms introduced by his Government were irreversible and there would be no backtracking at any cost.

He exhorted the Indians living abroad to invest more and more in India in view of the initiatives and policy changes taking place there. He said his Government had launched massive employment generation programmes in the villages to bring more and more people above the poverty line and said the people of Indian origin living

abroad should also come forward to ensure the progress and prosperity of their motherland.

Rao, German Chancellor Kohl Meet in Rio

92AS1199A Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Jun 92 p 1

[Article by Anand K. Sahay; boldface words as published]

[Text] Rio de Janeiro, 13 June—India would like work to commence on the redefinition of nonalignment in the light of experience since the collapse of the Cold War, and seek closer economic ties with the European Community.

This is the broad sense of the bilateral talks between the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, and the German Chancellor, Mr. Helmut Kohl and the Indonesian leader, Mr. Suharto yesterday afternoon. Mr. Rao also called on the Brazilian President, Mr. Fernando Collor de Mello.

With Chancellor Kohl, the Indian Prime Minister's dialogue focussed chiefly on the unstable conditions obtaining in eastern Europe, and India's economic restructuring set in motion by Mr. Rao's government.

Chancellor Kohl, who is believed to have done most of the talking, is understood to have been effusive about the pace of Indian economic reforms, saying he had heard only positive reports. But it was pointed out to him that German investment in India had recently indicated a declining trend. Mr. Kohl is believed to have assured the Indian leader that Germany would do what it could to respond to the changed economic climate in India.

Consultative group: Mr. Rao expressed happiness that the first meeting of the Indo-German Consultative Group is to be held in September, a month before Mr. Kohl arrives in India to receive the Nehru Award for Peace and Understanding.

The Group was constituted when Mr. Rao was in Bonn last year. It has high-level personalities on both sides to co-chair it, Prof. P.N. Dhar and Mr. Cartileiri of the Deutscher Bank. Its deliberations would provide the base for strengthening future ties between the two countries.

Mr. Kohl gave the Indian Prime Minister a detailed exposition of the changes underway in Europe, and said eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union were facing a severe economic crisis.

The Prime Minister's discussion with Mr. Suharto was in the nature of a review of the NAM process in the context of the forthcoming summit at Djakarta in September.

Indonesia has had to step into the shoes of the chairman of NAM since the sudden collapse of Yugoslavia before the expiry of its chairmanship. Indonesia was to have taken over the mantle after Belgrade's tenure ended. The

end of Yugoslavia as an entity has complicated the role of the nonaligned, and made Indonesia's responsibilities more burdensome. The abruptness with which it had to assume charge has not made its task any the easier. Given this background, Mr. Suharto urged Mr. Rao to provide all assistance and cooperation in the organising of the Djakarta summit.

Help promised: The Indian Prime Minister promised every help.

Rao Meets Li Peng, Baltic Leaders in Rio

92AS1200A Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Jun 92
p 6

[Article by Anand K. Sahay; boldface words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] Rio de Janeiro, 13 June—India and China have agreed to advance the next meeting of the joint working group (JWG) on the border issue from February to October, and also to exchange drafts on confidence-building measures in July. These decisions were clinched here today when the Prime Ministers of the two countries held a scheduled meeting during the Earth Summit, suggesting an inclination on both sides to get on with it.

A senior Indian spokesman described the talks as "precise, and held in an atmosphere of spontaneous friendship, ease and familiarity."

Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao and Mr. Li Peng had last come together in New York in January. There was an air of excitement in the vicinity of the Indian control room at the summit venue where Mr. Rao received his Chinese counterpart. The unobtrusive but efficient Brazilian security suddenly went on alert.

The proximity of Sino-Indian views and the similarity of concerns became evident when the two leaders discussed the commonality of their recent experiences in dealing with the United States.

Mr. Li Peng noted that both countries were engaged in enhancing the substance of their relationship with the United States but the United States had shown the tendency to suddenly exert pressures on questions of technology transfers.

"But we should deal with the situation in a practical manner," the Chinese leader is understood to have said.

China endorses India's approach: China also endorsed India's approach of maintaining good relations with countries like the United States. The Indian spokesman said. In this context, Mr. Li reflected commonality of perceptions with India when he said that sovereignty and independence of decision-making had to be maintained in dealing with the United States.

For his part Mr. Rao narrated India's recent experience with the United States in the matter of acquiring space technology even from a third country, Russia. Mr. Li

expressed his country's support for India as space programme for peaceful purpose.

The Chinese leader told Mr. Rao that his country had made a positive assessment of the recent visit to Beijing of the President, Mr. R. Venkataraman, saying it had contributed to the cementing of political contacts between the two countries.

Mr. Li also urged Mr. Rao that the two of them should continue to meet each other at international conferences in the course of the year. Of the forthcoming visit in July to Beijing of the Defence Minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, the Chinese Prime Minister said he "welcomed it warmly."

The Chinese leader also confirmed that the PRC President Mr. Yang-Shan- Kun, and the general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, Mr. Jiang Zemin, would be visiting India in the near future.

Agree on border issue: On the border question, the two sides agreed that the delineation of the boundary was likely to take some time. In the meantime, the Chinese Prime Minister urged that the agreed objective should be that the border between the two should be one of "peace and stability."

As their earnest desire of stepping up the process of delineation, the two Prime Ministers had proposed in their last meeting that the JWG should meet as frequently as possible. Today's decision to advance the meeting of the JWG is seen as an implementation of this resolve.

Mr. Rao and Mr. Li also agreed that India and China should work closely on follow-up action to be taken on Agenda 21 and the Biodiversity Convention being remitted by the Earth Summit.

Stock-taking of the Rio summit, which concludes here tomorrow, constituted a regular item of discussion between the two Prime Ministers today that noted the considerable similarity in the positions of their countries on the issue of environment, and its symbiotic relationship with the substance of development.

Mr. Li and Mr. Rao noted the role of India and China in the run-up to the Earth Summit and their maintaining contact with Brazil. Brazilian officials had visited both Delhi and Beijing in preparing for the occasion, it was pointed out by both sides. It was noted that the three land-based countries—Brazil, China and India—had a similarity of approach to the environment question.

Mr. Narasimha Rao today also received the Presidents of the three Baltic Republics—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—who were accompanied by their respective Foreign Ministers.

Assurance to Baltic States: In their collective meeting with Mr. Rao, the leaders of the Baltic States explained at length the developments in their countries since their

separation from the former Soviet Union. They said they would like to enhance economic, cultural, and trade relations with India.

Indian experts in agriculture and light engineering are expected to visit the Baltic States soon. Mr. Rao said India would step up both official.

Japan raises fund: Japan today announced an increase of some \$440 millions a year over five years in environment-related aid for the Third World.

The announcement came in a speech the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Kiichi Miyazawa was to have made to the Earth Summit in Rio from Tokyo through a television hook-up. But it was not broadcast, and the Brazilian President, Mr. Collor de Mello simply said the speech had not been aired because of "last-minute difficulties."

Regional Affairs

Hypochondria Seen in Conduct of Mideast Policy

92AS1194A Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Jun 92 p 9

[Article by F.J. Khargamvala; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Manama (Bahrain), 9 June: Indian policy makers on West Asia may need to ask themselves if they are suffering from a persecution complex, i.e. perceived pressures from various quarters or a perceived negative fallout from a third country in the event a particular aspect of India's bilateral relationship comes out into the open.

It has become almost predictable that some politicians scream "sellout" as soon as some form of military or security related exchange with the U.S. is reported. New Delhi's apparent hypochondria is more evident in West Asia than elsewhere. Among the cases that can be cited is the "flat" denial by the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro to presspersons in the capital that during his recent Gulf tour he had any discussion with his counterparts on defence and security related subjects. The denial was in the context of Oman's agreeing to India's proposal for joint naval exercises.

The fact is recorded that at his meeting with his Omani counterpart, it was Mr. Faleiro who gently reminded his host of the Indian proposal of last year. (Before an External Affairs Minister travels out, other Ministries or departments are asked to provide inputs for his 'talking points,' such as proposals or outstanding matters). The Omani official informed him that, in principal, Oman had cleared the proposal but details would have to be worked out at the service level. Mr. Faleiro himself might have been keen to publicise it but, according to sources, it was the perceived objection from Iran about an Indian ingress into the Gulf in defence related matters that underlay Indian reticence to make the matter public.

That would be understandable, but to issue a flat denial about such discussions is to indicate two things. One, a signal to Iran that its concerns do matter in India's military links with the Gulf. Two, to Gulf countries that at some point in time, if there is heat from Iran, India could conceivably back out. In this specific case, had Oman been wary about Iran's known views regarding the Gulf's linkages with outside powers, it would have not agreed to the Indian proposal.

Managing contradictions: Before India deals with Yemen, at a time when the latter has boundary problems with Saudi Arabia, New Delhi's officials are looking over their shoulders to see how Riyadh would react. India is not exactly a country to be feared, but if this trend continues it may well be seen as a country in fear. In West Asia, the earlier policy of non-exclusivity in relations seems to be giving way to trying to manage contradictions.

Last January, before formally establishing ties with Israel, Indian Ambassadors were instructed to sound out various Arab regimes for feedback if there would be an adverse reaction. That there was almost none is another matter but quite a few Indian Ambassadors feel once a decision had been made in New Delhi there was no need for approaching other Governments.

One remarked, "We could have given our assessments. In any case, once it had become evident that the Government was only a signature away, an Ambassador is not likely to stick his neck out and commit himself about an adverse reaction from a third Government.

It is thought possible that for purposes of overcoming any dissent within the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs—there was one dissent—South Block wanted to bolster its case by suggesting the Arabs had no objection. A pro-Arab Indian diplomat said, "we seem to be conveying that we are losing our 'amour propre.' Sometimes these fears become a self-fulfilling prophesy."

One fails to understand the initially programmed silence not about the contents of meetings, but of the very fact of an Israeli defence delegation visiting New Delhi. There has been some adverse comment in an odd Lebanese and Egyptian paper about such contacts. A longstanding champion of Arab causes is seen to have changed its spots. Those objections have their relevance not just in defence contacts but in the first step of establishing relations.

Ambiguity: Equally confusing is the ambiguity about India's help to Iran on the nuclear reactor. At Government level, the stand is "there were no discussions" but the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission continues to say that the country is still negotiating. If on balance U.S. and other apprehensions are to the country's advantage, why not close the matter?

There will often be objections or perceived objections but pacifying by denials or by conduct one country or domestic lobby India could be sending out different signals to others.

Progress in Defense Ties To Israel Seen

92AS1196A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
29 May 92 p 1

[Article by Sankarshan Thakur; boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 May: Although attempts are being made to underplay the recent visit of a high-level Israeli defence team, India and the Israelis have made considerable progress on the possibilities of cooperation in key defence areas, it is learnt.

Official confirmation of the Israeli team's week-long presence came today when the external affairs ministry spokesman announced it had had meetings with officials of the defence ministry and the department of defence production.

The six-member Israeli defence team, he said, had come at the invitation of the defence ministry but gave no details of the talks. Earlier this week, while the team was still in the capital meeting officials, arms dealers and retired defence and diplomatic personnel, officials of the external affairs ministry had altogether denied knowledge of its presence.

The Israeli mission here too had sought to sweep it under the carpet, saying even if such a team was in India, it would have come on a "private visit" which did not concern them. Significantly, in an interview to *THE TELEGRAPH* here recently, the Israeli charge d'affaires, Mr. Giora Becher, too had emphatically denied the possibility of defence being one of the key areas of cooperation between the two countries. This, observers feel was part of the exercise to keep the whole issue low-profile.

Even the Union government has made not-so-successful attempts to keep the issue low key. Soon after the defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, made a statement that India would seek Israeli defence expertise, his minister of state, Mr. Krishna Kumar, sought to deny it before an uproarious Rajya Sabha.

It now transpires that the visit was not only not private—it was here on an official invitation from the ministry of defence, and the Israeli mission was closely involved with arranging and participating in it—it also saw substantive talks on defence exchange.

The visit of a high-level defence team within five months of establishing full diplomatic relations between the two countries is in itself a significant indicator of the rapid progress Indo-Israeli ties have made in recent months. There has been a flurry of bilateral exchanges between India and Israel in the last few months and it was felt in

diplomatic circles that the two countries have been "rather quick" in confidence-building measures.

While Israel's eagerness in the defence area could be explained by the fact that India, particularly since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, is a large and lucrative market, India's motivations are to be seen in the context of Pakistan's continuing belligerence on the nuclear issue and its campaign in the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) on Kashmir. Building ties with Israel, some feel, could be an effective counterbalance to Pakistan's military and political tactics.

Nuclear technology discussed: According to reliable sources, nuclear technology was among the several subjects discussed between Indian and Israeli defence personnel.

Joint Trade Panel With Syria Meets in Delhi

92AS1195A New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English 25 May 92
p 6

[Text] India and Syria have agreed to expand and diversify bilateral trade ties to ensure balanced flow of trade between the two countries, reports UNI.

This was decided at the second session of the Indo-Syrian joint trade committee held in New Delhi from 20 to 22 May.

The nine-member Syrian delegation was led by Dr. Abdul Rahim Subeih, Syrian Deputy Minister for Planning and the Indian side by Mr. G.P. Rao, joint secretary in the Ministry of Commerce.

The volume of trade between India and Syria has been increasing over the years in the past. This has increased from the level of about Rupees seven crore during 1988-89 to about Rupees 38 crore during 1991-92 (April-January).

The major items of export from India to Syria have been engineering goods, basic chemicals and jute products etc.

There has been quantum jump in the export of engineering goods, from India to Syria which has risen from modest figure of about Rupees two crore during 1988-89 to about Rupees 17 crore during 1991-92.

While overall volume of trade has increased, there has not been any significant import of goods from Syria. The total imports Syria has been to the tune of about Rupees two crore in the past three years.

Keeping this in view detailed discussions were held to identify specific products which India could import from Syria in order to balance the trade.

In this context, items like petroleum, petroleum coke, rock phosphate, lentils, chemicals, fertilisers, cotton, hide and skin were identified, which India could import from Syria.

On the other hand, Syrian side expressed their keen desire to associate Indian companies.

Sindh: Neighbor's Troubled Province Assessed

92AS1160F Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English 10 Jun 92 p 8

[Text] In some ways, Sindh is even more troubled than Pakistan's other three provinces. Yet there seems to have been little justification why it should have been singled out for the imposition of a sort of emergency regime. True, Sindh's civilian administration has been flawed by persistent accusations of partisanship in the enforcement of law and order. Ever since the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI] government allied to the IJI regime at the centre took charge in late 1990, there have been complaints that the administration is going for the Opposition, Pakistan People's Party [PPP] activists, on the pretext of rounding up dacoits, with the ferocity characteristic of a new convert, as the then Chief Minister, Jam Sadiq Ali, was because of his defection from the PPP. Even after his death, the Sindh government had not moved perceptibly away from its partisanship which had even embarrassed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Sindh's domestic troubles and the government's response to them had inspired Amnesty International to compile a special report on arbitrary arrests, torture, rape and allied abuses by the security forces in Sindh. In this light, the delegation of special powers to the army for the enforcement of law and order could have had a positive and a negative aspect—expectations that the military would be more impartial than the provincial administration in combating lawlessness, balanced against the attendant risk of even greater disregard for human rights owing to the army's involvement. Such a takeover had supposedly been imminent two years ago, during the PPP regime. Then Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's alleged resistance to it is cited as a reason why President Ghulam Ishaq Khan sacked her on August 5, 1990.

Sindh's problems, however, are unlikely to be tractable to the army takeover of law and order functions. Charges of Indian interference in the province, a staple for explaining away political disaffection and ethnic tension between indigenous Sindhis, Mohajirs (refugees from India) and settlers from other provinces (Punjabis and Pushtuns), continue to be made, showing that perhaps little headway is being made towards restoring peace. Even Shia-Sunni clashes, widespread in other provinces but which Sindh's main Mohajir party had succeeded in defusing, have resurfaced in Karachi. On top of all this, comes a report that a group of innocent villagers have been liquidated by some army personnel who first put out the plea that they were dacoits, and later, that they were terrorists. Neither the hapless province nor the country, it seems, will see real peace soon.

Internal Affairs

Kashmir Releases Statistics on Killings

92AS1177A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 7 Jun 92 p 5

[Text] Jammu, June 6 (UNI)—A total of 1,413 people were killed by militants in the Kashmir Valley since January 1990, a State Government spokesman disclosed here today.

The dead included 360 security personnel.

Commenting on reports of human rights violations by security forces in the valley, the spokesman said it was the militants, who were armed by Pakistan to create large-scale subversion and violence in Kashmir, who were trampling upon human rights.

But unfortunately human rights activists were ignoring such violations by the militants preferring to point an accusing finger at the security forces, he said.

The spokesman said the militants, backed by Pakistan, had been organising attacks on the security forces in the State, mostly in crowded areas. Since January, 1990, the forces were the target of 2,624 such attacks, resulting in the death of 360 security men. About 800 civilians were also killed in crossfire, he added.

Abductions, rapes, forced marriages and extortions were other instances of human rights violations being carried out by the militants in the Valley, the spokesman said.

According to official figures, 555 people have so far been abducted in the State. Of these, 132 were killed in captivity besides, several cases were not reported as the victim's family preferred negotiating a release through intermediaries, he added.

The forced migration of 200,000 Kashmiri Pandits and Sikhs and nearly 100,000 Muslims was also a violation of human rights, he said.

Holding Pakistan responsible for all these human rights violations, the spokesman claimed that that country had smuggled into the valley a huge quantity of lethal weapons. Only a part of it had so far been recovered by the security forces in different search operations.

He said arms included 4,399 AK-47/56 rifles, 458 various types of machine guns, 1,870 pistols/revolvers, 184 rocket launchers, 538,000 rounds of ammunition, 667 rockets, 5,159 grenades, 5,760 detonators and 600 kg of explosive material.

This was considered just a small portion of the total arms smuggled from across the border, the spokesman added.

Lok Sabha By-Elections: Regional Performances Viewed

92AS1160A Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English 9 Jun 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, June 8 (PTI & UNI)—About 50 to 55 percent of the 4.01 million electorate today voted in the by-elections for two Lok Sabha and 19 Assembly seats marred by widespread violence in Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal and stray incidents in Bihar and Delhi.

Andhra Pradesh bore the brunt of violence with incidents of bomb-throwing, snatching of ballot papers, assaults that led to police firing and suspension of polling in some booths. Four candidates, including Congress(I)'s Dibyendu Biswas, withdrew from the contest for the

Ballygunj Assembly seat in West Bengal to protest against "massive rigging" in the constituency where police opened fire in air to quell rampaging mobs.

In Bihar, where polls are normally marked by large-scale violence, there were only a few stray incidents except for a heavy bomb attack on the vehicles of Janata Dal candidate to the Vaishali Assembly constituency. Up to 60 percent of the electorate turned out to exercise its franchise in the Giridih Lok Sabha constituency while the voters response ranged from 30 to 40 percent in the Assembly seats of Vaishali, Danapur and Tamar.

In the prestigious New Delhi Lok Sabha constituency where about 47 percent of voters exercised their franchise supporters of BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] candidate Shatrughan Sinha and Congress(I)'s Rajesh Khanna exchanged brickbats in Lodhi Colony area and there were also reports of clashes between them elsewhere.

CANDIDATES WITHDRAW: Four candidates, Congress(I)'s Mr. Dibeyendu Biswas, Marxbadi Kendra's (a breakaway group from CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist]), Mr. Swapan Chakravorty and two independents, Mr. Ranjit Dey and Mr. Pran Krishna Dutta withdrew from the contest for Ballygunj in protest against the "massive rigging" according to CLP(I) [expansion not given] leader, Mr. Siddharta Shankar Ray.

Mr. Ray demanded repoll in the entire constituency "as the elections had been reduced to a farce."

The police opened fire in Ballygunj when a lathi-charge and tear-gas proved ineffective against a violent mob of 400 Congress(I) supporters who threw bombs and brickbats on two Maria tribesmen at Gariahat, official sources said. One person was injured in the firing.

Polling in the three Assembly constituencies of West Bengal—Ballygunj, Nayagram and Barhampore—was 60 percent.

The other Assembly constituencies that went to the polls are Loutulim (Goa), Tanur and Narakkal (Kerala), Budhni and Lanji (Madhya Pradesh), Malkingiri (Orissa), and Tilhar (Uttar Pradesh).

Among those whose electoral fortunes were decided in today's polls are filmstars Rajesh Khanna and Shatrughan Sinha and ex-bandit Queen Phoolan Devi all candidates for the New Delhi Lok Sabha seat and the former Andhra Pradesh deputy chief minister, Mr. C. Jagannatha Rao, trying his luck as Congress(I) candidate in the Himayatnagar Assembly constituency in Andhra Pradesh.

DH News Service adds:

HYDERABAD: Amid scenes of tension and apprehension among voters the by-elections to the Assembly constituencies of Himayatnagar and Sanatnagar in Hyderabad turned into a violent affair. Police resorted to

opening fire in two areas in Amberpet in the Himayatnagar constituency and one area in Sanatnagar constituency to disperse clashing groups.

Gorkha Hill Council Defies State Government

92AS1182A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
6 Jun 92 p 1

[Article by Keshav Pradhan]

[Text] Darjeeling, June 5—The fragile peace brought in by the historic Darjeeling accord about four years ago was threatened today as the GNLF [Gorkha National Liberation Front]-Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, in open defiance of the state government, closed down all but four of its departments.

Since last year, the state government and the council have been at loggerheads over financial matters.

The GNLF supremo and hill council chairman, Mr Subhash Ghising's action rendered many working at the council on daily wages jobless. Some of these people actively took part in the Gorkhaland movement and were hardcore militants.

The decision to wind up 18 of the 22 departments was taken at a meeting of the general council. The GNLF councillors not only renounced their portfolios but also handed over their keys to Mr Ghising, who in turn passed them over to the council secretary, who is a state government official.

The vehicles allotted to the councillors were also left in his custody. "We have deposited everything, even almirahs, name plates and stationery," an executive councillor of the public health engineering department, Mr K.N. Subbah said.

The general council has 26 GNLF and two CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] members. Of the 14 nominated and ex officio members, only the joint secretary, hill office department, Mr Amitava Mukherjee, the additional district magistrate, Mr Arun Bal, and the district CPI(M) secretary, Mr S.P. Lepcha, welcomed the decision.

Two absentees were the CPI(M) Rajya Sabha member, Mr B.R. Rai, and the party leader, Mr D.S. Bomzan, who have since last year been demanding the total transfer of state departments to the council as per the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act.

After the marathon five-hour meeting, Mr Ghising said, "The lockout of the departments will continue as long as the government fails to amend the council act and create departments in place of the closed ones." He said only the offices of the chairman, the chief executive officer and the general administration would remain open.

Speaking to newsmen, Mr Ghising said it was decided at the meeting to withdraw all financial powers from the chief executive officer, Mr L.B. Fariyar, who is a senior

IAS [Indian Administrative Service] officer deputed by the government. He said Mr Pariyar would submit a detailed breakup statement of the council's financial position.

Mr Ghising said Mr Pariyar and other officials had not explained the difference of Rs 2 crores found in the financial statements given by Calcutta and the council officials. He added that Mr Pariyar had also failed to clarify how Rs 29 crores, which was first embargoed and later released by the state government part by part, was spent.

Mr Ghising said Mr Pariyar would shift his office from the prestigious Lalkothi to the Tourist Lodge. He added that while all West Bengal officials who were in charge of the closed departments would be released, the post of the additional chief executive officer, currently held by an IAS official, Mr Pawan Agarwal, would be abolished.

Asked why he had decided to shut down departments like the public health engineering and education, Mr Ghising said, "The state government wanted to work according to the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Act. So we showed them that we could also work strictly under the act, which is totally against the letter and spirit of the Darjeeling Accord. It is against the concept of autonomy.

He admitted that the main reason for the closure was a letter from state government containing 57 objections against the various departments of the council.

"They call it an autonomous council but we have to seek their permission even for minor decisions," he said.

Mr Ghising said he would convene a GNLF meeting shortly to chalk out the future course of action. Asked whether he would launch a movement, he said, "Don't ask about the future."

New Politburo of Telugu Desam Announced

92AS1178A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
1 Jun 92 p 7

[Text] Hyderabad, May 31—The Telugu Desam president, Mr N.T. Rama Rao, today announced the setting up of a nine-member politburo, the party's highest policymaking body, with himself as its chairman, reports UNI.

Addressing a Press conference here, he said the politburo would meet once in three months to review policies and suggest changes, if necessary.

The other members are Mr Yerra Narayana Swamy (West Godavari), Mr N. Yethiraja Rao (Warangal), Mr P. Ashoka Gajapathi Raju (Vizianagaram), Mr K. Prabhakar Reddy (Nalgonda), Mr P. Mahendra Nath (Mahabubnagar) and Mr Lal Jani Pasha, M.P. (Guntur).

Conditions of Tin Bigha Transfer Examined

Minister's Explanation

92AS1201A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
6 Jun 92 pp 1, 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Barely 20 days before the proposed transfer of the Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh, the Centre seems to have realized that the campaign to reassure the people of Kuchlibari that their interests would not be hampered has not had the desired effect. Speaking at a Press conference in Calcutta on Friday, the Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting Mr. Ajit Panja, admitted the amended version of the international agreement between Bangladesh and India on March 1992 did not reach the people.

Mr. Panja arrived in Calcutta at the instance of the Prime Minister ostensibly to identify the gaps in communication and initiate necessary measures. He admitted in part to the Union External Affairs Ministry's responsibility in this connection. "The disinformation campaign launched by those with vested interests is primarily based on facts of the 1982 version of the agreement, Mr. Panja said: "Bureaucrats are like that," he said, "and like to presume many things which the common people are not aware of."

Careful Study

When pointed out if he would initiate any inquiry into the matter, Mr. Panja said it would have to be studied carefully. As an immediate step the Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs (East), Mr. Kris Srinivasan, who had accompanied Mr. Panja to Calcutta on Thursday night, has been asked to send the latest clauses and terms of the agreement to Calcutta by Friday night. These will be brought out in the form of leaflets, incorporating the points over which a people still had doubts.

Mr. Panja clarified that the fears of the people of Kuchlibari, who were strong opposing the transfer move tooth and nail, centred around the role of the law-enforcing agencies, the movement of paramilitary forces in the leased-out portion and operation of the dropgates in emergencies.

Prevailing Laws

The Union Minister clarified that according to the latest agreement clauses, the laws of the two countries would prevail in matters of criminal offences. But, in case of any Indian being arrested by Bangladesh authorities or vice versa, the existing international laws would prevail. Status quo was being maintained in this regard after the recent talks with Dhaka.

Referring to the movement of paramilitary forces, Mr. Panja said that decisions taken earlier had been changed. The Bangladesh forces would have the right of way only during the six-hour period when the dropgates would be

operated by that country. India had the responsibility of maintenance of Mekhliganj-Kuchlibari and would therefore have total control over it. In case of emergency, such as the removal of patients or any other matter, the two countries had agreed on the necessary arrangements.

Mr. Panja was told that no one would believe his word unless the Government came out with the amended versions in black and white. Mr. Panja replied that this was exactly what had been planned.

In a desperate attempt to thwart opposition to the transfer of Tin Bigha, Mr. Panja garnered support on Friday for an all-party team to visit the corridor next week. Hectic parleys were held between the Congress(I) and the Left parties for a consensus move to assuage the feelings of the people in Kuchlibari.

Mr. Panja arrived in Calcutta late on Thursday night amid allegations by Mr. Jyoti Basu that a section of the Congress(I), led by Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray, was trying to scuttle the handling over of the corridor with the help of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. The Information Minister, along with Mr. Kris Srinivasan, met Mr. Ray late on Thursday night with maps, charts and documents.

On Friday, Mr. Panja, under directives from the Prime Minister met representatives of all major political parties, barring the BJP, and sought their support through an all-party resolution in the Assembly endorsing the transfer. He also suggested that an all-party delegation visit the corridor and try to explain the amended agreement to the people of Kuchlibari.

The Speaker, Mr. Hasim Abdul Halim, adjourned the House before the customary break for half an hour that Mr. Panja could speak to representatives of all the parties. The Left constituents agreed with the Minister and expressed their willingness to visit Tin Bigha, subject to the approval of the leader of the House, Mr. Basu.

Following several rounds of discussions among Mr. Panja, the Speaker, and the State Information Minister, Mr. Buddhadev Bhattacharya, who got in touch with the Chief Minister, it was decided to adopt an all-party resolution in the House on Tuesday. The Draft prepared by Mr. Bhattacharya was partly amended by senior Congress(I) legislators. It will be signed by Mr. Basu and Mr. Ray.

An all-party team is tentatively scheduled to leave for Tin Bigha on 13 June but efforts are on to advance the date. An attempt by Mr. Panja to have the Speaker convene a special session of the Assembly on Saturday to pass the resolution failed.

Silence on Rights

92ASI201B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
7 Jun 92 p 1

[Text] Calcutta, 6 June: The amended agreement between India and Bangladesh on the Tin Bigha transfer

concluded on 26 March this year is totally silent on the modalities relating to the movement of the police and the Army of the two countries within the leased area.

According to the latest official publication on the proposed transfer issued by the external affairs ministry, the amended agreement does not have any provision granting Indian or Bangladeshi citizens, police and Army personnel the right to free and unfettered movement within the leased area.

It simply reiterates that "the government of Bangladesh fully recognises India's sovereignty over the Tin Bigha corridor and that the Indian flag will fly at the four corners of the corridor."

An all-party delegation was to visit the area on 13 June to defuse the prevailing tension and convince the residents that the corridor would remain a part of India after the transfer, but the chief minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, scuttled the proposal today, saying it was premature.

The proposal was put forward by the Union information and broadcasting minister, Mr. Ajit Panja, following meetings with senior state government officials yesterday. Mr. Panja is here as the Prime Minister's special emissary to sort out the problems related to the transfer.

Raising the issue suo moto at the Cabinet meeting today, Mr. Basu said "Mr. Panja has clearly told me that the Prime Minister has asked him to inquire and report directly to him about the latest developments in Tin Bigha. Mr. Panja was also asked to meet me and leaders of other political parties for a concerted effort to mobilise public opinion in favour of the transfer. "Although Mr. Panja met us and discussed the issue informally, he has not visited Tin Bigha yet. Let him and his party delegation go to Tin Bigha, assess the situation and report it back to the Prime Minister. If, after reviewing the report, the Prime Minister still feels the need to send an all-party delegation, we might consider the proposal," Mr. Basu told his Cabinet colleagues.

The absence of a provision relating to the Army movement in the amended agreement has given rise to a lot of misgivings among the political parties opposed to the transfer, including the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the rebel Forward Bloc headed by Mr. Kamal Guha. They believe that India's sovereignty over the area would be seriously affected following the transfer.

Copies of the document released by the external affairs ministry have already been distributed among all political parties including the BJP, and leaflets containing the Bengali version are expected to reach the people of the affected area soon for free distribution.

Under the amended agreement, India and Bangladesh will provide mutual assistance in all judicial matters like prosecution and trials of criminal activities committed in the corridor.

Punjab Memo Asks New Deal From Center

92AS1176A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 14 Jun 92
p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, June 13—In a detailed memorandum submitted to the Centre, the Punjab Government has pressed for a new initiative to resolve the territorial and water problems with Haryana on the basis of "the Constitution of India, law and established conventions." The State Government has deliberately not used the word "package" because of the unsavoury connotations acquired by it in the last two years, but wants the Centre to take a "decision," according to the "basic framework," suggested by it.

The despatch of the memorandum follows the periodic letters from the Chief Minister, Mr. Beant Singh, to the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, on the law and order situation in Punjab. The Central decision, according to the Chief Minister, would help enhance his Government's credibility and help it meet the current challenges. The memorandum, received by the Ministries concerned at the Centre is yet to be considered at the political level.

The principles: It sets out the principles for adoption for each of the two sets of issues. As regards the territorial matters, it lists two points: (a) Based on the principle of contiguity, taking the census of 1991 as the basis, exchange of villages can be mooted, (b) Chandigarh cannot be divided.

The following principles are recommended for the water issues: (a) the decision should be taken strictly as per the Punjab Reorganisation Act of 1966; (b) All the post-1966 developments should be scrapped and the issue be looked at de novo; (c) in no way Punjab be made to withdraw canal water from its irrigated lands; (d) Efficiency of water utilisation and cost effectiveness of water supply to farmers must be kept in view while deciding the distribution. Today river water is used in the most cost effective manner in Punjab and the State gives more than three times the yield anywhere else in the country, per unit of water supply.

The memorandum reiterates Punjab's claim to Chandigarh, while indicating the State Government's willingness to give certain satellite areas to Haryana. Similarly, Punjab, according to it, could compensate Haryana for Abohar and Fazilka. This is how the memorandum deals with the subject: (a) Chandigarh—built as a capital of erstwhile Punjab—must be immediately transferred to it. Punjab may consider transfer of the satellite town of Mani Majra which is a part of the Union Territory of Chandigarh and all other areas which lie beyond the railway line and are adjoining Mani Majra and Panchkula of Haryana, as a gesture of goodwill; (b) To settle the dispute of transfer of Fazilka and Abohar which are not contiguous to Haryana, Punjab may consider the transfer to Haryana of some of the villages of

Rajpura tehsil adjoining Naraingarh and Ambala district of Haryana, as are Hindi-speaking in the basis of 1991 census and are contiguous to it.

For resolving the water issue, the memorandum puts exclusive reliance on the relevant provision of the Punjab Reorganisation Act of 1966 (which created Haryana). According to its Section 78(1), "Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act but subject to the provisions of Sections 79 and 80, all rights and liabilities of the existing State of Punjab in relation to Bhakra-Nangal project and Beas project shall on the appointed day be the rights and liabilities of the successor States in such proportion as may be fixed." This provision, it is pointed out, clearly says that only the surplus waters of the Beas and the Sutlej (1.24 MAF) could be shared.

"Unilateral" notification: The memorandum traces the various developments that complicated the simple arrangement, envisaged in the Act, with a pointed reference to the Central notification of March 24, 1976, "issued unilaterally and without even sending a notice to the State of Punjab," apportioning the total waters of not only the Sutlej and the Beas but also of the Ravi (which was not within the purview of the reorganisation law).

"The unilateral notification was immediately contested and rebutted by Giani Zail Singh, the then Chief Minister of Punjab. It led to further complications, that is, (a) Filing of suit by the Punjab Government in the Supreme court; (b) Withdrawal of the suit by the Punjab Government presumably under pressure, since the balance of justice, in the court otherwise seemed to be moving in favour of Punjab at that time; (c) A new agreement of 1981 to which Rajasthan was also made a party, though it had no claim because neither was it riparian state or a constituent of the erstwhile Punjab. This agreement was tailor-made to be more favourable to Haryana and Rajasthan at the cost of Punjab; (d) The Eradi Tribunal set up as a consequence of Rajiv-Longowal Accord—which crossed even its basic terms of reference."

The memorandum suggests the solution on the following lines:

- (1) Water apportionment be decided strictly as per the Punjab Reorganisation Act of 1966.
- (2) The notification of 1976, which is against the Act of Parliament and also beyond the jurisdiction and scope of the act, be annulled.
- (3) If this notification is not to be annulled then waters of the Yamuna as available to the erstwhile State of Punjab on 1-11-1966, be also divided in the ratio of 60:40 as other assets have been divided.
- (4) The position as on 1-11-1966 be restored by annulling all the post-1966 developments, immediately. Surplus waters be divided strictly as per the Punjab Reorganisation Act and if thereafter any party feels aggrieved, it should be free to knock at the doors of the Supreme Court as per the law and Constitution of India.

"Fair play": So far as Haryana is concerned, the memorandum stresses, the surplus water of only the Sutlej and the Beas can be shared as per the Punjab Reorganisation Act but the Ravi is exclusively for Punjab, just as the Yamuna has been kept exclusive for Haryana. "Haryana cannot be allowed to corner full 5.58 MAF of the Yamuna waters and then also lay its claim on the Ravi. Principles of fair play equity and natural justice need to be applied rather than claims based on short-term political expediency," it says.

Northeast Leaders, Police Hold Conference

Danger From Influx

92AS1183A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 8 Jun 92 p 2

[Text] Guwahati, June 7—Has there been a change in the official perception on the problem posed by the influx of illegal migrants from across the border, initially into the north-east, Bihar and West Bengal and now into other parts of the country, including New Delhi?

For the first time since the influx assumed massive proportions, it has been officially recognised that the phenomenon—which has already caused an upheaval in Assam and the north-east—amounts to a security problem. So far the influx had always been explained away as a possible threat to the socioeconomic life of the region affected, or, a development quite in consonance with India's stand that it never turned back refugees.

During the two-day meeting of heads of state and Central police forces and intelligence agencies which ended here yesterday, the influx of illegal migrants from across the border was termed as a "major security problem" by the Assam governor, Mr Loknath Mishra, and the chief minister, Mr Hiteswar Saikia.

The need for a coordinated approach to check the influx was highlighted during the meeting. Measures to be taken at the ground level on the international border were also discussed. In the last one month alone, there have been several instances of Nepali and Bhutanese nationals entering those Assam districts which are contiguous with south Bhutan where a section of the population has turned against the monarchy.

Recently, Nagaland, hitherto unaffected by infiltrators from Bangladesh, demanded the detection and deportation of foreign nationals. An Assam government official said the influx of illegal migrants from Bangladesh into Assam had now comparatively lessened not because of any check on the international border but due to the fact that a "virtual saturation point" had been reached in the state.

With little land available on the plains, the illegal migrants are now moving towards the two hill districts, North Cachar hills and Karbi Anglong, and the reserve forests. They are pushing deeper into the north-east, more specifically, into the tribal-dominated hill states.

The Naga Students Federation has recently submitted a memorandum to the election commission demanding detection of foreign nationals and that their names be struck off from the voters' list.

After the two-day meeting, an intelligence official repeated that illegal migrants posed a security problem but would not say if there had been a change in the official perception. According to him, it would be too much to expect loyalty to the host country from the illegal migrants and there were bound to be substantial sections among them who could become a security problem.

The director-general of Assam police, Mr S.V. Subramanian, said operational strategies were being worked out among the police of the north-eastern states to tackle insurgents whose activities had spilled over to one or more state. Discussions during the meeting included movements of extremist groups, linkages among them, sanctuaries in neighbouring countries and within the region, drug trafficking, VIP security, upgradation of equipment and welfare measures for police personnel.

The police of all the states in the region are also likely to be pooled for certain operations and plans are on the anvil for the setting up of a telecom grid linking senior police officials in the districts to the state headquarters as well as the Union home ministry at New Delhi.

Assam Governor's Speech

92AS1183B Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA
in English 7 Jun 92 p 8

[Text] Guwahati, June 6—That there is little co-ordination between various intelligence outfits operating in the north-east was evident on the first day of the two-day conference of heads of state, central police organisations and intelligence agencies inaugurated by the Assam governor, Mr Loknath Mishra, here yesterday.

The meeting, convened by the intelligence bureau, is being attended by directors-general of police and senior police officials from all the seven states in the region, intelligence officials, heads of the BSF [Border Security Force], the CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force] and also the military intelligence (MI). The last such meeting was held here in April 1991. The present exercise was the eleventh meeting. Such meetings have assumed significance in view of the fact that north-eastern insurgent groups have formed a joint forum. The forum includes outlawed outfits like the NSCN [National Socialist Council of Nagaland], PLA [Palestinian Liberation Army] and ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam].

In a brief interaction between the delegates and the governor, who was credited with having considerable experience in tackling insurgency, it was evident that even though there were many intelligence outfits operating here, they have often worked at cross-purposes. A senior police official from Arunachal Pradesh impressed

upon the governor the need for better co-ordination between the MI and the state police's special branch.

Mr Mishra admitted such discrepancies and recalled an incident related to operations against ULFA in which a vital piece of information was suppressed for two days. By then, no action could be taken by security forces. The inference that could be drawn from such suppression was that the concerned individuals wanted to either shield ULFA militants or just did not want to share their information for reasons best known to them.

According to him, there was need to improve the quality and skills of policing and better co-ordination was required between the official machineries of the Centre and the state. The current security challenges demanded greater innovation and adoption of new concepts, he said, and added that additional resources were being gradually met.

Recalling the several insurgencies in the region from the Naga uprising in the '50s to ULFA in recent times, Mr Mishra said such violent developments indicated "certain dissonances in the system" which need to be addressed not only by the armed forces but also by a combination of economic and political measures. The misguided youth, however, should be given every opportunity to be rehabilitated, he added.

"The combination of a society in transition and a sensitive geo-political location has led to two major security problems in the region. The first is a massive influx of migrants from neighbouring countries, who are in search of a better life for themselves and their families. The tension this has caused to existing social and political structures is a part of contemporary history. The second security problem is the cancerous spread of insurgent movements, several of which have sanctuaries across our borders," Mr Mishra said.

The challenges to security are reflected in the growth of the police forces in the region and also the over 10 percent allocation to the police in total annual expenditures in every north-eastern state. The combined strength of police forces of the seven states is nearly one lakh. Besides, the governor noted that there was a heavy deployment of para-military forces while the army had been assisting civil administration as a matter of routine.

Process To Elect Ninth President Started

92AS1160E Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
10 Jun 92 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, June 10, (PTI)—President R. Venkataraman today issued a notification setting in motion the process to elect the ninth President of India on July 13.

With the publication of the notification in the gazette today, filing of nominations opened and will continue till June 24.

Scrutiny of nominations will be undertaken on June 25 and the last date of withdrawal of candidatures is June 27. There will be a fortnight-long official campaign period.

The notification calls upon elected members of Parliament and legislatures in 25 States to exercise their franchise either in Parliament House or in various State capitals.

Mr. Venkataraman's term is due to expire on July 24 this year.

Under sub-section(3) of Section 4 of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections Act 1952, the Election Commission is required to complete the elections in time to enable the President-elect to assume office on July 25, 1992.

Gujarat: Congress(I), Janata Dal Merger Viewed

92AS1160D Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
10 Jun 92 p 7

[Article by Sudhir Vyas: "Gujarat Politics at Cross-roads"]

[Text] Ahmedabad, June 9—The merger of the Janata Dal(G) with the Congress(I) is a turning point in Gujarat politics and will usher in a two-party system in the State.

For the Chief Minister, Mr. Chimanbhai Patel, it will provide much-needed stability to his fragile ministry which has so far been surviving with the support first of the BJP [Bharatya Janata Party] and then with the outside support of the Congress(I). For the Congress(I), the gain is that it will have added another State to its tally.

The Congress(I) President and the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Nasarimha Rao, has also timed the merger to perfection. He had set his eyes on Gujarat for the forthcoming presidential election. Mr. Patel also saw this as an ideal moment and pressed for the merger knowing that otherwise the Congress(I) could always pull the rug from under his feet at any time.

The Prime Minister must have been guided by two important factors. First, he wanted to garner every available vote for the party's nominee for the presidential election. Second, the Congress(I) high command was virtually unnerved by the spectacular rise of the BJP in the State and was not inclined to give it yet another chance to establish its roots too strongly in a State which has been considered a citadel of the Congress(I).

The BJP had made its intentions clear of capturing the State in the near future and held the meetings of its national executive and national council in Gujarat.

The wily Chief Minister had been behaving rather mysteriously of late. He allowed two senior ministers to hobnob with the BJP and declared that if they failed to merge with the Congress(I), then they may cross over

with a large chunk of Janata Dal(G) MLAs [Member of Legislative Assembly] and form a government with the help of the BJP.

As if this was not enough to unnerve the Congress(I), Mr. Patel himself made overtures to senior BJP leaders by inviting them to a 'tea' party at his residence during the BJP national council meeting.

According to political observers here, the Prime Minister realised that the uncertainty over the merger issue was doing the Congress party more harm than good. Political compulsions, rather than any liking for the Chief Minister himself, or the so-called promise given by the former prime minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, forced Mr. Rao to go in for the merger.

Mr. Patel had his own reasons to doggedly pursue the move. Despite his public postures, he had burnt his bridges with the BJP by launching a hostile and acrimonious campaign against it. The stability of his ministry was also under threat. Some ministers had become so arrogant that they were forcing the Chief Minister to take crucial decisions virtually under duress. According to a senior bureaucrat, the Chief Minister was being virtually blackmailed at every turn.

This had led to frequent transfers of senior as well as taluk-level officers with the result that the administration suffered. Corruption among ruling party legislators had become the rule rather than the exception. Mr. Patel himself is alleged to have indulged in land rackets and other profitable deals.

However, the post-merger scenario in the State will be interesting to watch as group alignments in the Gujarat Congress(I) will undergo a drastic change. The shrewd politician and master manipulator that he is, Mr. Patel fully knows the weaknesses of the present generation of politicians.

Already the Chief Minister has made a big dent in the Congress(I) camp by winning over the former Chief Minister, Mr. Amarsinh Chaudhary, the former PCC [Pradesh Congress Committee] chief, Mr. Natvarlal Shah, and a large number of his followers, including Mr. C.D. Patel, till now the leader of the State Congress Legislature Party.

The lone pocket of resistance will come from the tenacious Solanki-Darji faction. Alarmed over the impact of Mr. Patel's entry into the party, former Foreign Minister Madhavsingh Solanki had weeks ago started touring the State to win the support of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes and to create a strong base for himself.

Recently, Mr. Darji fired the first salvo against the Chief Minister by declaring that the equations in the State Congress(I) would undergo drastic changes. In all probability, he will be leading the brigade against the Chief Minister.

The questions being asked now are how far this arrangement will continue and what impact the Solanki-Darji onslaught will have on Mr. Patel. If a majority of the Congressmen are given what they want, then things will be easy for him. If not, the outcome of the merger may not be what was expected by both sides.

Congress(I) Back in Power in Gujarat

92AS1192A Madras THE HINDU in English 8 Jun 92
p 1

[Text] Gandhinagar, 7 June: The Congress(I) came to power in Gujarat today as the Chief Minister, Mr. Chimanbhai Patel, led all 65 legislators of his regional outfit, Janata Dal [JD] (G), and one unattached member into it, swelling the Congress(I) Legislature Party [CLP] from 32 to 98 in the House of 182.

At the meeting of the expanded CLP here, Mr. Patel was elected leader replacing Mr. C.D. Patel who was chosen as his deputy. The Congress(I) was ousted from power in March 1990 by Mr. Chimanbhai Patel when he was in the Janata Dal which then had a poll alliance with the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party].

Today, Mr. Patel and the AICC [All India Congress Committee] observers, Mr. Balram Jakhar and Mr. R.L. Bhatia, told the CLP that the amalgamation of the JD(G) into the Congress(I) had become imperative to fight communal forces such as the BJP.

But the event, that follows the Prime Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao's policy of admitting all former Congressmen into the party fold, completes yet another circle. Mr. Patel was the Congress(I) Chief Minister in Gujarat but had to leave the position and then also the party in 1974 in the wake of the powerful agitation against corruption that had become famous as the "Nav-nirman Andolan."

Mr. Babubhai Patel of the Janata Morcha who had succeeded Mr. Chimanbhai is now in his Cabinet. When asked what would become of him now, Mr. Chimanbhai Patel said, "he is very much with us and there is no confusion about it." Mr. Babubhai is of the one MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly] party, Lok Swaraj Manch.

Mr. Chimanbhai Patel and Mr. Jakhar parried all question about expansion of the Ministry to accommodate the original Congressmen. But Mr. Patel is flying to New Delhi tomorrow morning to consult Mr. Narasimha Rao about the expansion.

Mr. Prabodh Raval, president of the Gujarat Pradesh Congress(I) Committee, told the CLP that the organisation would not differentiate between the old and new Congressmen and there would not be any discrimination. Mr. Patel responded, "We feel a lot relieved."

Most of the Congress(I) leaders of the State including the former Chief Ministers, Mr. Amarsinh Chaudhari and

Mr. Hitendra Desai, attended the meeting. Even followers of Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki who opposed the merger were present. Mr. Solanki was, however, absent.

According to a report, Mr. Solanki was attending a meeting of his supporters in Baroda district, home district of the Chief Minister. This suggests that the Solanki group has not liked being overruled by the Prime Minister on the merger issue and may oppose the Chief Minister from within the party.

As if to guard against such a development, Mr. Jakhar advised the partymen to remain united and work for strengthening the Congress(I) at all levels. For, it had to face a formidable challenge from the BJP.

Congress-(I) Panel Sets Precedent in Candidacies

92AS1193A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 9 Jun 92 p 1

[Boldface words; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 8 June: On the eve of his departure abroad for a week, the Congress(I) leader, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, today obtained his party's authorisation to choose its nominee for the Presidential poll, and also established a significant principle for the allotment of Rajya Sabha tickets that could keep key figures of north Indian Congress politics away from the scene of action.

A meeting of the Congress Working Committee [CWC] this evening to which special invitees were not called—the only exception being Mr. V.N. Gadgil, the party spokesman—unanimously authorised Mr. Narasimha Rao to choose the Congress(I) candidate for the presidential poll.

In several rounds of talks, Mr. Rao has already sounded key opposition parties on the approach to the election for the Presidency in mid-July and has advanced the 'consensus' method for their consideration which has met with positive reaction. Yet, the outcome of his talks with the opposition did not come up for discussion in the CWC.

This could indicate the measure of confidence the Working Committee has in their leader's confabulations with the Opposition, for there appears every reason to believe now that the name of the incumbent Vice-President, Mr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, would go through for the Presidency.

The authorisation to Mr. Rao to name the party's nominee also suggests that the formal tabling of the party's candidate would be dictated by considerations of timing.

Today's meeting was more in the nature of a review before the Prime Minister's departure for the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro, and did not appear to have a clear focus. The byelections held throughout the country to two Lok Sabha and 19 Assembly seats is also understood to have come up for desultory discussion.

Key move: However, a key decision reached by the Congress(I) today was not brought before the working committee at all, viz. that those who lost the Lok Sabha election last summer would not be brought to the Rajya Sabha.

This automatically rules out leaders like Mr. N.D. Tiwari and Mr. Dinesh Singh from UP [Uttar Pradesh], and Mr. Vasant Sathe and Mr. Gadgil from Maharashtra. Mr. Gadgil has been made the party spokesman and invitee to the CWC. It remains to be seen if any of the others also make it to the apex body of the party.

Both Mr. Sharad Pawar and Mr. Arjun Singh should be happy with the decision concerning candidature for the Rajya Sabha as it checks the ascendance of potential rivals for the time being.

Orissa: Congress(I) In-Party Fight Detailed

92AS1160I Bangalore *DECCAN HERALD* in English 10 Jun 92 p 8

[Article by S.T. Beuria; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Bhubaneswar—The faction-ridden Orissa unit of the Congress(I) is all set to witness yet another open political war between two heavyweights and long-time rivals in the party—the recently-nominated Pradesh Congress(I) Committee Chief, Mr. J.B. Patnaik, and the Union Minister of State for Agriculture, Mr. K.C. Lenka.

The first shots of a fierce political battle have already been fired by both sides with Mr. Lenka despatching a hard-hitting letter to Mr. Patnaik about the "unfair methods" adopted by the latter during the appointments of party functionaries from block to district levels and the PCC(I) [Pradesh Congress Committee] chief, in retaliation, drawing the attention of the party high command to the anti-party activities of the Union Minister. According to reliable party insiders, both leaders have launched a vigorous campaign to oust each other from their respective posts.

A close look at the Lenka-J.B. relationship would reveal that both leaders had always been arch rivals, even when they were working together. Both of them had never left a stone unturned to push the other into troubled waters whenever the opportunity arose.

In the early Eighties, Mr. Lenka was the number two in Mr. J.B. Patnaik's Congress(I) Cabinet. Differences, however, cropped up after a few months and Mr. Lenka was unceremoniously dumped by Mr. Patnaik from the Cabinet for reportedly conspiring to throw the latter out of the Chief Minister's chair. Mr. Lenka had received further humiliation when the party's then high command, obviously influenced by Mr. Patnaik, decided not to give a party ticket to the former to contest the 1985 Assembly elections.

Short Patch-Up

Of course, both leaders had forgotten their rivalry and had joined hands in the late Eighties which had resulted in Mr. Lenka's nomination to the Rajya Sabha. With Mr. Patnaik's support, Mr. Lenka had also become the President of the PCC(I). Mr. Patnaik, then the Chief Minister, had renewed his friendship with Mr. Lenka because he wanted to clip the wings of other dissident leaders like Mr. Hemananda Biswal, Mr. Basanta Kumar Biswal and Mrs. Nandini Satpathy. However, the move backfired and the truce came to an end when Mr. Lenka deserted Mr. Patnaik's camp and joined hands with the dissident leaders. Since then, Mr. Patnaik and Mr. Lenka have been on opposite sides of the fence.

On the eve of Mr. J.B. Patnaik's nomination to the post of PCC(I) chief a few days ago, Mr. Lenka along with other dissident leaders, had made several attempts to stop the former Chief Minister's nomination to the new post. However, the astute Mr. Patnaik had left all his detractors, including Mr. Lenka, behind and comfortably won the race to become the new PCC(I) chief. Political observers, however, had predicted that the dissident leaders, particularly Mr. Lenka would not sit quietly but would strike back at the appropriate time.

Mr. Lenka, true to the political observers' predictions, struck and fired the first salvo on May 19 with a hard-hitting letter to Mr. Patnaik. Mr. Lenka's complaint was that the new PCC(I) chief had adopted an arbitrary method and had appointed all "his men" as office-bearers in the party's district and block level units. Even some of the elected officer-bearers had been removed to accommodate Mr. Patnaik's supporters. Mr. Lenka further complained that the recommendations of a central committee of the party had not been heeded to during the time of appointment of the party's district and block level office-bearers. The central committee, consisting of Union Minister P.R. Kumaramangalam, the former General Secretary of the AICC(I) [All India Congress Committee], Mrs. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, the former Joint Secretary of the AICC(I), Mr. Bhubaneswar Chaturvedi, and Mr. Ratnakar Pandey, MP [Member of Parliament], was appointed by none other than AICC(I) President P.V. Narasimha Rao, Mr. Lenka claimed.

The Union Minister warned the PCC(I) chief of a revolt by the party's rank and file if Mr. Patnaik did not stop his "autocratic" style of functioning and the office-bearers of a few of the district and block level units were not changed. Mr. Lenka had cited the example of 13 out of 17 district units of the party including all important Cuttack and Bhubaneswar district units where Mr. Patnaik's "yes men" have been appointed as presidents.

Tacit Support

Though so far other dissident leaders like the former Chief Ministers Mrs. Nandini Satpathy and Mr. Hemanda Biswal, the Union Minister, Mr. Giridhari Gomango and the PCC(I) Vice-President, Mr. Basanta

Kumar Biswal, have not openly come forward to back Mr. Lenka, a Congress(I) party insider on condition of anonymity, told DECCAN HERALD that the Union Minister had the tacit support of all these dissident leaders.

True, all the above leaders, particularly Mrs. Satpathy, have been as hostile towards Mr. Lenka as Mr. Patnaik, but political observers feel that Mrs. Satpathy and a few other dissident leaders have buried their hatchet and joined hands with Mr. Lenka just to wipe out a powerful common rival—Mr. J.B. Patnaik.

Mar. J.B. Patnaik, on his part, rushed to New Delhi to draw the attention of the high command about the anti-party activities of Mr. Lenka. According to Mr. Patnaik's sympathisers in the party, the Union Minister is likely [to] attract the wrath of the high command as he has broken party discipline by disclosing the 'internal matters' of the party to the press.

Along with a news item, a xeroxed copy of Mr. Lenka's letter had been published by a section of the local press. Both Mr. Patnaik and Mr. Lenka's camps have accused each other and have come out with two different stories about how Mr. Lenka's letter was slipped to the press. While Mr. Patnaik's camp claim that it was the handiwork of Mr. Lenka, the supporters of the Union Minister have put the blame on the PCC(I) chief.

According to them Mr. Patnaik deliberately leaked the letter to the press so that he could convince the high command to take action against Mr. Lenka on disciplinary grounds.

Another interesting fact is that rumours are rife in political circles here about the "definite" exit of both Mr. Patnaik and Mr. Lenka from their respective posts "very soon." Obviously, these rumours are being spread from both sides of the fence.

However, the open political war between two heavyweights has severely affected the morale of the party workers at the lower levels.

The intense, infighting among party leaders had played a vital role in the Congress(I)'s humiliating defeat in the municipal polls a few days ago. And now the candidates supported by the former ruling party have received a heavy drubbing in many places in the just-concluded panchayat polls in the State, mainly because of the ongoing squabbles in the party.

CPI-ML Political Document Analyzed

92AS1187A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 27 May 92
p 2

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] The political map of the world may change, but nothing can make the Communist Party of India

(Marxist-Leninist) (CPI-ML) talk a different language of political discourse. The political document adopted by the party at its all-India party Congress in April says nothing but the usual.

Liberal use of adjectives like revisionist, imperialist and counter-revolutionary is made to explain the cataclysmic events of the world, dismantling of the Soviet Union and the retreat of the socialist order. Unlike the major Left parties or the Indian Peoples' Front (IPF), the CPI-ML is contemptuous about Left unity, dismissing as revisionist all Left parties other than itself.

The political document, negates Gorbachev the former President of the erstwhile U.S.S.R. as a 'buffoon.' It says, 'Gorbachev, who stalked the stage as a buffoon, aiming to fool the people with his glib talk about socialism, has been left without successors, the Russian rulers have openly discarded socialism.' Deng Xiaoping of China is dubbed an 'incorrigible capitalist.'

While in China the Deng group went about the task of eroding the socialist base, in India it recognised 'neo-revisionist parties like the CPI-M as a Marxist-Leninist party,' the CPI-ML regrets.

Strangely, while the party does not spare the Left Front Government of West Bengal for its alleged violation of democratic rights, it does have a word of condemnation for the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre in China.

The political document however indicts Deng for promoting capitalist policies, which catalysed the students' agitation says 'Bourgeois values were propagated all around and decadent imperialist culture was glorified, the policies of Deng group were primarily responsible for the 1989 summer movement, which was drowned in blood by the ruling group.'

For the CPI-ML there are no nuances of socialism. There is therefore no need to probe the system to search for explanations for its unprecedented collapse. The document, unhesitatingly, defends the command economy, collectivisations, attributing all ills to privatisation.

Glasnost is summed up as preaching of bourgeois values. Says the CPI-ML: 'Gorbachev launched glasnost to preach bourgeois values to prepare the ground for perestroika. It alleges that the 'ruling bureaucrat bourgeoisie blamed socialism and command economy for the economic crisis, and launched attacks on Stalin, socialism and the working class movement.'

The impression the document seeks to convey is that the command economy is infallible and it is only because of leaders like Gorbachev, who introduced a mixed economy that the system went astray.

At home, the CPI-M is attacked with as much vehemence as the Congress or the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. The document states: 'CPI-M, leader of the revisionist fraternity in India, heads the Government in

West Bengal.' The Left Front Government is flayed for promoting joint ventures and harping on 'Centre-State relations to the exclusion of other issues.'

The CPI-ML sees no reason to distinguish the Congress-run State Governments from the Left Front in West Bengal. 'Their actual practice has become indistinguishable from ruling class parties,' the document asserts.

It calls the Vinod Mishra led organisation, 'a new addition to the revisionist camp.' Mr. Mishra is charged with throwing overboard the lessons of the Great Debate and thought of Mao Zedong, which constitute the basis of Naxalite ideology.

On elections, the political document observes that elections are a form of struggle. But, in some areas, boycotting polls will serve the higher interests of revolutionary struggles, the party feels. Participation in elections, however, should be on the basis of the party's own strength. The party is against all kinds of electoral alliances, but may consider going along with those who support the CPI-ML goal of New Democratic Revolution.

CPI-ML Expels People's War Group Founder

92AS1198A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 11 Jun 92 p 9

[Boldface words; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Hyderabad, 10 June: Kondapalli Seetaramaiah, founder of the People's War Group [PWG] of the CPI(ML) [Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist] has been expelled from it by the new central organising committee.

This was said in a statement issued in Vijayawada by Muppala Lakshmana Rao alias Ganapathi, who has replaced Seetaramaiah as the committee secretary.

The statement was expected, in view of the struggle going on in the PWG, launched 15 years ago, for the past one year.

Vangapalli Srinivas alias Prasad, member of the central organising committee and Kuruba Bandiah alias Mahadev and Madasu Venugopal alias Mohan, both members of the Andhra provincial committee, have also been expelled on charges of forming a "faction within the party and attempting to disrupt the line the party had accepted in the plenum."

'Created confusion:' Ganapathi said that during the Andhra provincial committee meeting held in June last year, Prasad and Mohan joined hands with Seetaramaiah and Bandiah, formed a faction and "started creating confusion in the party and obstructing the party activities." In order to resolve this crisis, the party decided to hold an Andhra plenum in October but this was boycotted by these four persons. The plenum decided to give six months time to Seetaramaiah so that he could rectify his mistakes. The planum advised the

Central Organising Committee to remove Seetaramaiah from his position as secretary but let him continue as an ordinary member. It also wanted Bandiah removed from his position in the committee but retained as an ordinary member.

"But the behaviour of Seetharamaiah and the three others show that they have continued their disruptive activities though openly proclaiming that they would abide by the decisions of the plenum. The forest committee and the provincial committees of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka adopted resolutions blaming Seetaramaiah alone for the crisis in the party. He abstained from the central organising committee meeting held in January and circulated a letter saying that party decisions should be taken only at the level of district committees and that the central and provincial committees should give only advice, leaving the decisions to lower committees.

Papers Report CPI-M Politburo Meet, Problems

Purpose of Meeting

92AS1190A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
30 May 92 p 4

[Article by Manini Chatterjee; boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 29 May: In keeping with the decision taken at the CPI(M)'s [Communist Party of India-Marxist] 14th party congress to launch independent mass movements in the politically-crucial Hindi-belt states, a two-day meeting of the politburo and all the state secretaries and central committee members from this region began at the CPI(M) headquarters today.

The main agenda of the meeting is to chalk out programmes to combat communalism and build mass resistance against the government's "anti-people" new economic policies.

Exhaustive discussions were held throughout the day on how to improve the party's organisation in these states where it has traditionally been weak. State committee secretaries of Uttar Pradesh [UP], Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Delhi attended the meeting.

Central committee and other important members from these state units were also present during the detailed discussions. Today's meeting is one among a series of efforts to implement the decisions taken at the 14th congress which was held in Madras in January this year.

In the past few months, politburo members have been crisscrossing the country to address party schools and revitalise the organisation. In the last few years, the politically volatile situation in the country leading to two general elections in less than two years forced the CPI(M) leadership to concentrate on national and electoral politics.

Following the Madras congress, however, greater emphasis is being laid on revitalising the party organisation and building up new bases in the weak areas especially in the Hindi belt.

Though the alliance with bourgeois secular opposition forces will continue, there is greater concentration on independent left activities with the focus on organisational tasks.

Tasks in Hindi belt: The "Report on Organisation and Tasks" adopted by the 14th party congress (which reviewed the progress on the organisation front since the Salkia Plenum in 1978), had contained scathing self-criticism of the party's limited growth in the Hindi belt region. On the question of communalism in particular, it had noted: "In fact, after a decade, it must be realised that the forces of social reaction of caste divisiveness and rank communalism have actually gained ground in the Hindi region.

"The rise of the VHP-BJP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad-Bharatiya Janata Party] as an enhanced political force, the deeper communalisation of social life, the erosion of secular values in substantial sections of the educated middle class such as in UP, the use of caste by the bourgeois-landlord parties for electoral mobilisation—all this has led to a retreat from secular-democratic values. This is proving very harmful for the democratic movement in general and the Left in particular."

The issue of combatting communalism, thus, forms the main component of the meeting's agenda. The emphasis is likely to be on building mass movements rather than on electoral activities in which the Left is forced to play second fiddle to one or the other bourgeois opposition party.

The second item on the agenda—on mass campaigns against the new economic policies—is directly related to the 16 June all-India industrial strike which the Left parties hope to convert into a "countrywide hartal."

Role of politburo: Today's meeting also assumes significance in view of the observations made in the organisational report on the central leadership's role in developing the party in the Hindi belt. It had said, "The politburo or the central committee and the party centre must place its own self-criticism.

"The consistent practical guidance to the state committees of the Hindi region for building the party at all levels, proper guidance to mass organisations and ideological political campaigns pushed from the Centre have been insufficient.

Clearly, the frequent visits by senior politburo members to various state units, special efforts to improve party schools in these areas and the decision to hold meetings with state unit leaders reflects the party leadership's resolve to implement its line in practice.

Displeasure With Singh

92AS1190B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
1 Jun 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 31 May: The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] Politburo today expressed its displeasure over the former Prime Minister and Janata Dal leader, Mr. V.P. Singh's statement on the developments in the Jamia Millia University.

The Politburo said it was "unfortunate" that Mr. Singh had reportedly "given credence to the demand of the fundamentalists in the Jamia Millia controversy by expressing the view that the problem can be solved with the resignation of the pro vice-chancellor, Prof. Mushirul Hasan."

It said that "such a stand only provides encouragement to the forces motivated by religious fundamentalism who are seeking to subvert the national-secular character of Jamia Millia."

The Politburo felt that "giving in to the intolerant demand of the minority communalists will only strengthen and aid the forces of majority communalism."

The statement issued by the CPI(M) Politburo was significant as it was the second consecutive day the party had publicly expressed divergent views from that of its political ally. Yesterday, the West Bengal chief minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, had strongly criticised the demand made by Mr. Singh for the Union information and broadcasting minister, Mr. Ajit Panja's resignation.

The distancing between the CPI(M) and the Janata Dal on a number of important issues, is being interpreted in political circles as significant in view of the presidential election.

Problems of Growth

92AS1190C Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
6 Jun 92 p 9

[Text] With about half a million members, the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] should have a feeling of being right on top of the world. But, no. The "unfettered" growth of the party has brought with it the "disease" that haunts other mass-based parties—factionalism, bureaucratic functioning and individualism.

Leaders in some States have become so averse to criticism that very often individual party members, local or district committees are forced to send complaints on organizational matters directly to the Politburo or the Central Committee requesting not to be identified.

A party document on organizational matters circulated among CPI(M) members recently does not spare individuals, State committees or State secretariats for stooping down to such vices. It points out that the very basic democratic centralism was thrown to the winds

when the Orissa State Committee and its State secretariat became "hot-beds of naked factionalism" a few months ago.

"In a few other States, the collective functioning of the State secretariat is unsatisfactory," the document says.

The "lower" units of the party are seen as mere instruments for carrying out the decisions of the "higher" ones. Their suggestions for better functioning of the party are ignored by the State or district committee in many States. The "higher" party units are generally reluctant to respect and consider the views of their comrades in the "lower" ones, giving rise to a situation where facets of over-centralization are manifested.

Since the Salkia Plenum of the party in 1978, the CPI(M) has been harping on the members' right to express their differences and convey them to the higher committees, of course, with an assurance that no vindictive actions would be taken against them for exercising such right. Such liberties have not been fully realized by the members till now.

Not that all the State committees display the same high-handedness—"suppressing" people whose observations on the party's policies are genuine. Some State committees, being weak, often tolerate violations of party discipline by important leaders, district committees or the "lower" units because they dare not touch those who are influential.

The fear of upsetting the existing set-up also holds them back from taking any action. Only when a crisis erupts is there "some intervention."

Action taken against the erring leaders is often not commensurate with the offence if he has enough clout in the set-up.

With breach of the party norms in various party committees becoming too common, reports are received at the party headquarters in Delhi from many State committees admitting spread of federalism in the party because district committees, in particular, go on violating the political and organizational "line."

The document refers to the collapse of socialist system in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern European countries which had to pay the price of overcentralization of power, and bureaucratic functioning of the Communist parties. It warns against the debilitating effects of these distortions in the long run. Inner-party democracy has to be resorted to even at the lowest level.

The CPI(M) is aware of the large number of youths being enrolled as party members from the seventies onwards. Those who had joined the party in the thirties, forties or fifties (the undivided Communist Party) may differ with their younger colleagues on certain issues, but the party's suggestion to the old guards in this regard is that they keep in mind that the new recruits—being more educated—can have an independent analysis of those problems. To integrate their varied experiences into the

Communist outlook it requires patient attention and wider inner-party democracy.

"Bureaucratism" appears to be a major bane of the party, eating into its vitals. This "disease" is common both in the States where the party is strong as well as where it is weak. And the infection has been passed on to the frontal organizations, particularly the trade unions.

With the expansion of the party, pressure on the whole-timers and certain individuals, who joined the CPI(M) to

build a career led to "bureaucratization" of the functioning of the party. Erosion of links with grassroots level, being averse criticism and lack of an atmosphere, encouraging free and frank discussion furthered the bureaucratization process.

The CPI(M) says that instead of hiding the flaws of the leading members, they should be brought to the notice of the "Lower" units to arrest the bureaucratic behaviour within the party.

The party units, right from the highest to the lowest level, have been directed to reply to complaints.

Leading Economist Ghosh Recommends Decentralization

92AS1160B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
9 Jun 92 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, June 8 (UNI)—A leading economist has warned that if India continues with the World Bank prescribed programme of structural adjustment and economic reforms, it will essentially be reduced to an exporter of primary goods and an importer of manufactured goods after five years.

Former Planning Commission Member Arun Ghosh, in a paper entitled "An alternative strategy for India's economic crisis", says globalisation of the economy will accentuate inequities and inequalities in the society.

He indicates that the Indian tax system is becoming increasingly regressive.

Dr. Ghosh suggests that India should not take a larger loan under the extended fund facility (EFF) and should not liberalise import policy except to the extent necessary to encourage exports. The Government should endeavour to release the energies of all the people and make serious efforts to control inflation.

What is first required is the uplift and upgradation of the people, better education, greater employment opportunities, better health and infrastructure.

With large sections of the people steeped in ignorance, illiteracy, ill health and underemployment, globalisation of the economy will accentuate inequalities in the system. The resultant social tensions can destroy all attempts to economic reform. Such reforms require an ambient atmosphere which in turn requires better social justice in the country, Dr. Ghosh says.

He says the sudden change in trade policy, announced on February 29, 1992, is baffling. The only reason appears to be that this was a ploy for liberalisation of the imports of raw materials and components for elitist consumer goods, for which the demand is by and large price inelastic. Under the earlier scheme, there was a ceiling to the total commercial imports—to the extent of availability of exim scrips—whereas now these imports can take place to any extent based on market demand.

The paper says it does not appear that the new policy was a prelude to the full convertibility of the rupee. The partial convertibility of the rupee is really intended to speed the liberalisation of the import policy—a policy recommended by the World Bank report of October 1990 on trade reform in India.

Besides, it is also in tune with certain other major economic policies introduced with the budget for 1991-92, further accentuated in the budget for 1992-93, Dr. Ghosh says.

The World Bank report on trade reform (October 1990) projected a current account deficit for India after five years of structural readjustment and economic reform to

the tune of \$3 to \$4 billion annually and projected a decline in export of manufacturers, and a ten percent decline in the production of capital goods, while projecting a resurgence of agricultural and mineral exports. In short, India is to become essentially an exporter of primary commodities and an importer of manufactured goods. "So far, we have assiduously followed all recommendations in that report, including those on import liberalisation and reduction in import tariffs," Dr. Ghosh says.

Dr. Ghosh refers to certain changes that were brought about in the budgets in 1991-92 and 1992-93. While there is an urgent need to cut down the revenue deficits, there has been a reduction—a fairly drastic one—in direct tax rates, he says.

Dr. Ghosh says the taxation of wealth has been practically abolished, and income tax rates for the rich reduced sharply, at a time when the revenue deficit of the Centre has reached alarming proportions. At the same time, there has been an increase in excise duties in administered prices (such as milk and bread), in railway passenger fares and freight rates (which affect the cost of living of the masses both directly and indirectly) and in postal and telecommunication rates. The taxation system is becoming increasingly more regressive, Dr. Ghosh says.

As to what steps are required on the domestic economic front, Dr. Ghosh says "we should decentralise." Delivery of all economic and social services can be undertaken more efficiently and economically if these are decentralised. That would automatically make for an improvement in the efficiency of public expenditure. Secondly, the Government must not curb investments on the social and economic infrastructure. The mere transfer of centrally sponsored schemes, currently at more than Rupees 5,500 crore, from the Centre to the States and from the States to the locally elected panchayats, can give an immediate boost to local area planning as well as generation of employment, Dr. Ghosh says.

Shortcomings in Economic Ministries Noted

92AS1191A Madras INDIAN EXPRESS in English
1 Jun 92 pp 1, 11

[Boldface words, quotation marks as published]

[Text] Many new members of the Union Council of Ministers, entrusted with the infrastructures sectors, have put up disastrous performances, according to a mid-term review conducted by the department of programme implementation. The review, which has examined the production performance of nine infrastructure sectors in 1991-92, identifies shortfalls, "with serious implications for the rest of the economy," in petroleum, fertilisers and cement. Besides, the production of steel, telecommunications, coal and power have also suffered major setbacks, adding to the factors which may significantly decelerate the growth of the economy in 1992-93.

The review acquires a political dimension in view of the imminent reshuffle of the Council of Ministers. In the context of this performance-analysis, it seems that there have been far too many non-achievers and poor managers among the political middle-weights whom the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, handpicked in June last to run the economic ministries.

The Ministers whose records have been particularly bleak are: Mr. B. Shakaranand, Minister for Petroleum and Natural Gas; Mr. S. Krishna Kumar, Minister of State in the Petroleum Ministry; Chinta Mohan, Minister of State for Chemicals and Fertiliser; and Mr. P.J. Kurien and Mr. P.K. Thungon, both Ministers of State for Industry.

Those who have managed to meet the overall targets, but have left major loopholes in critical areas of infrastructure, are: Mr. Santosh Mohan Dev, Minister of State for Steel; Mr. Kalpnath Rai, Minister of State for power; Mr. P.A. Sangma, Minister for Coal; and Mr. Rajesh Pilot, Minister of State for Communications.

Pat for shipping dept: Interestingly, it is only the Ministry of Surface Transport, under the independent charge of Mr. Jagdish Tytler, which has emerged unscathed in the review. The Shipping Department in the Ministry has been praised in the review for having exceeded the targets at different ports, and for having kept them free of congestion.

In reviewing the performance of the Petroleum Ministry, the Programme Implementation Department has particularly noted the progressive decline of crude oil production in the country, from 34.09 MT [metric ton] in 1989-90 to 30.34 MT in 1991-92 (against a target of 34.06 MT). Since 65 percent of India's indigenous crude oil production is accounted for by Bombay High, it is the general mismanagement of the Bombay High wells which has contributed most to the ministry's overall inadequacy. The review notes that "while older wells (of Bombay High) have peaked and production from them reached a plateau, new projects have not come into stream." The review notes that the production of natural gas was 10 percent lower than in 1990-91 as the downstream consumers along the HBJ [expansion not given] pipeline did not place the demands that were expected of them.

In the fertiliser sector, the review has made a special mention of the "pitifully low" 69 percent capacity utilisation of the public sector plants in production of nitrogenous fertilisers. There also seems to be an absence of clear thinking on the question of subsidy. An increased production will naturally push up the subsidy bill which is expected to touch Rupees 7,400 crore in 1992-93 as against the budgetary provision of Rupees 5,000 crore. This trade-off between subsidy and production, which is crucial, has not yet been addressed. The overall production of fertilisers (N+P) too has fallen short of target, though by a narrow margin of 1.8 percent.

In fact the fertiliser sector is plagued more by a lack of policy than any absence of production efforts.

Cement production: However, the lag in the production of cement, a subject of the industry ministry, has been attributed in the review largely to inadequate infrastructure support—particularly in power, coal supply and rail support. Though coal production has gone up by 34 MT between 1988-89 and 1991-92, coal supply to the cement industry has remained constant at 10 MT. Railway transportation of cement, which averages at 55 percent, has been way below the macro requirement of 77 percent and the requirement of 90 percent at clusters. Besides, the state cement corporations have performed miserably. The Central sector Cement Corporation of India (CCI) too has lagged behind target.

In the power sector, the overall increase in generation hides the shortfalls in thermal and nuclear power generation. The railways, though successful in moving more revenue earning freight traffic than expected, have fallen short of target in moving raw material for steel plants, iron ore for export, or fertilisers. In the telecommunications sector, though the Indian telephone Industries (ITI) has made enough telephone switching equipment, the department has failed to cope with rising demands and the growing need for fault-free calls. The fault rate of calls in Delhi, the capital, was still as high as 22.6 percent in 1991-92. In the steel sector, though the production of hot metal and saleable steel surpassed targets, the available capacities of the integrated steel plants were not fully operated. Neither did the production ingot steel, which caters to the subsidiary sector, come up to the mark. The production of coal could meet the target only after it had been reduced to 228 MT from 234 MT in the year's plan.

Pledge of Economic Support by Rich Countries Queried

BK0807114792 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
29 Jun 92 p 8

[Editorial: "Much Praise, Little Aid"]

[Text] Ostensibly, the message for India from Tokyo to Paris is that the rich countries are willing to stand by this country in its hour of difficulty and change. Tokyo's red carpet welcome to the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, showed Japan's goodwill for India. This was translated into increased Japanese contribution to bilateral assistance under the Aid India Consortium. However, this is not the case with respect to the Western nations which, led by the United States and United Kingdom, were effusive at the Paris meet over India's liberalisation policy. For 1992-93, the Consortium has pledged \$7.2 billion. To this, the bilateral contribution, including Japan's, is just \$2.3 billion. The real increase has come in the shape of multilateral assistance of \$4.8 billion, but this includes \$1.6 billion from the IMF. Excluding the Fund's contribution, what has emerged from Paris is an aggregate (bilateral and

multilateral) pledge of \$5.6 billion against \$6.7 billion last year. So, what does the admiration for India's liberalisation policy add up to? Bilateral aid continues to be tight-fisted. This is equally true of multilateral assistance, other than accelerated IMF lending tied to rather stiff conditions. What the Aid-India meet has brought out is not concern for India's growth, but for this country's liquidity in meeting the debt servicing liability. This is the principal reason for increasing the fast disbursing content of assistance from \$2.3 billion in 1991-92 to \$3.4 billion in 1992-93. The advanced capitalist countries are thus not going beyond ensuring that this country adheres to its commitment to pay interest and repay instalments on principal due on its external debt.

India has secured a reprieve for one year to keep its head above water. Last year, it stayed afloat with external assistance of various sorts, including Fund-Bank loans, and with foreign exchange inflows from India Development Bonds, confiscated gold sales and the amnesty scheme. This year it has to rely solely on such external assistance as comes in. India is thus held on a short leash. This does not augur well for easing the import compression which squeezed industrial production in 1991-92. Net of annual debt servicing amounting to \$5 billion, India needs \$5 billion to \$7 billion in each of the next three to four years to raise imports to an adequate level as also to finance foreign private profit repatriation now freed from restraint. The prospects of getting foreign exchange inflows of the required order are far from bright. Thanks to the stock exchange scam, domestic enterprises will find it difficult to raise equity capital abroad. It is an open question how soon the adverse impact of this on foreign exchange inflows will be made good by foreign direct investment in this country. The rupee, slated to become convertible, will have to stabilise before foreign investment takes to India. As the IMF puts deflationary policies through the paces, the objective of lifting economic growth from the low it has touched will recede into the distant horizon.

High Growth Rate of Software Export Reported

92AS1160C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
9 Jun 92 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, June 8—Exports of Indian software touched Rupees 410 crore during the year ended March 31, 1992. The industry has registered a phenomenal growth of 64 percent over last year's exports of Rupees 250 crore. In terms of U.S. dollars, software worth \$179 million were exported in 1991-92, against \$128 million in 1990-91. Even in dollar terms the export growth rate has been a high 40 percent.

The above figures were reached in the first phase of a study undertaken by Nasscom (National Association of Software and Service Companies).

The study also revealed that, in the year 1991-92, about 45 companies exported more than Rupees one crore worth of software. There were only 5 companies in this category five years back. Also nine companies have exported more than Rupees 10 crore worth of software. The year before that, only three software companies had exported more than Rupees 10 crore. This indicates the high growth of software exports.

If software exports have done exceptionally well, the domestic software industry has not remained far behind. The domestic software industry has also performed reasonably well, and for the year ending March 31, 1992, it notched up sales of Rupees 320 crore against Rupees 225 crore in 1990-91 registering a growth rate of more than 42 percent. The above figures do not include the large volume of in-house software development done in the country and also the systems software which goes bundled with hardware.

One of the immediate things the government could do is to accept GATT recommendations and remove import duty on computer software. The government has already taken initiative to bring down the street price of software by allowing legal duplication of imported software.

First Indigenous Battery for Submarines Produced
92AS1184A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
8 Jun 92 p 8

[Text] Calcutta, June 7—Chloride India Limited has become the second company in the world to develop and produce batteries for the German-made HDW submarines.

The battery has been developed by the company's research and development (R&D) wing here. Work on this project started in September, 1987 and in January, 1991, the company received clearance for commencing bulk production.

Each of the battery's 528 acid filled cells weighs about 520 kg and it is produced in four equal sets. The first set of 135 cells were delivered in October, 1991. The fourth and final set of cells for the first battery have now been despatched, thus completing delivery of the first indigenous battery to the Indian Navy. The battery has a guaranteed lifespan of five years.

At present, Chloride will produce this new battery at its Haldie plant. The research and development effort has cost the company about Rs 3.50 crores and the production time for this new product is nine months.

The breakthrough by the company in this field will also save the country a considerable amount of foreign exchange as each battery costs about Rs 11 crores in the international market.

Chloride will supply three more such batteries to the Navy.

On the export front, the company's performance has improved from Rs 20 crores in 1990-91 to Rs 40 crores in 1991-92. The target for the current year is Rs 50 crores, including \$10 million to hard currency areas.

New Self-Propelled Gun Expected in Service by 1993

BK0807113392 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
27 Jun 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi—A hybridised British AS90 (SP) gun will be the self-propelled (SP) gun for the army. The AS90 gun manufactured by Vickers Shipping Engineering Ltd (VSEL) of UK will be mounted on the indigenous Vijayanta tank chassis powered by a T-72 tank engine, according to top sources.

While summer firing trials of AS90 gun are scheduled for July 1992 in Mahajan ranges (Ratasthan), the stability and mobility tests of the hybridised version will be conducted later in the year. The, self-propelled gun system is expected to be in service by the beginning of 1993.

The idea is to power the nearly 1,500 Vijayanta tanks which are languishing, with 7tS0 horse power T-72 engines to provide the base vehicle. On this will be

mounted the British AS90 gun with its turret, which houses advanced firing systems. In financial terms, nearly Rs[rupees]1.70 crore per SP gun is expected to be saved of the present cost of about Rs 8 crore per AS90 gun system according to sources. This project is claimed to have been largely successful through the efforts of the arm's Electrical and Mechanical Engineers corps (EME).

The AS90 gun has advanced optics, fire power and firing data management. With a burst fire of 6 rounds in the first 45 seconds, it will be useful against counter-bombardment and powerful radars like AN TPQ-36 and AN TPQ-37 with Pakistan. Compared to US M109 (SP) gun with Pakistan which fires 2 rounds per minute, AS90 will out-match it in fire power. With a ladd-navigation system, AS90 can even be fired individually, providing flexibility on the battle-field.

However, four problems in the hybridisation process are likely. First, the weight distribution of the AS90 turret on stretched Vijayanta chassis is likely to pose problems in mobility. As evident in the case of Catapults (130 mm gun mounted on Vijayanta chassis), the 6 and 7 bogie wheels tend to wear out fast. Similar problems were faced when French GCT (SP) turret was attempted to be hybridised on the Vijayants hull, about eight years ago.

Second, though the Vijayanta tank is claimed to have been up-powered with T-72 engine, it is yet to be seen whether the transmission system is matched for the given power to weight ratio. Moreover, as SP guns carry more ammunition on its turret and given the fast burst rate of AS90 gun, improvisation for a matching tracked ammunition carrier will need to be done.

Third, when firing high charges, it will need to be ensured that the hull is stable both for round-to-round and burst fires.

And most importantly, given the fact that a continuous spares supply for Vijayanta hull will be required, the Vijayanta production line which was closed in 1987 may need to be reopened. Also given the fact that indigenous T-72 tank production is low (erratic supply of assembly kits from commonwealth of independent states), Vijayantas still with defensive formations may not be adequately available for SP gun hybridisation as their conversion to T-72 tank units has been affected.

The officials, however, claim that through this hybrid gun system, a critical operational gap is being sought to be plugged at low cost without compromising combat capability. The issue is whether, given the marginal savings in hybridisation of AS90 gun system and the accompanying problems, the project is worthwhile, observed a senior officer.

Meanwhile, the selection of AS90m gun puts to rest a ten year search for a self-propelled gun. While trials of various equipment were conducted during this period the most recent and attractive offer was the US M109 gun negotiations, which fell through mainly for political reasons. While Pakistan has US M109 A2 version, India

was offered M109 AS version by Washington initially during Gen S.F. Rodrigues visit to US in August 1991.

The ideal combination, however, which did not materialise for unknown reasons was the French package in the early eighties of GCT (SP) for armoured formations and Tracte 55 towed version for the mountains. This combination having similar ordnance, ammunition and manufactured by the same company would have well suited the army's requirement. The Soviets had offered their package of 2S5 152 (SP) and 152 mm light towed howitzer. It needs to be mentioned that the Swedish FF-77B (Bofors) gun is a towed gun and lacks mobility to match fast moving tracked formations.

Government Reportedly Negotiating Alpha Jet Fighter Deal

BK0807122992 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
30 Jun 92 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi—The government is understood to be negotiating a package deal consisting of about 100 Alpha jet advanced trainers, 60 Mirage-2000 air superiority aircraft, production line of Alpha jet and joint-manufacture of indigenous Advanced Light Helicopter (ALH), with the French, according to top sources.

In this context the on-going visit of Defense Minister Sharad Pawar to Paris assumes significance. Interestingly, no service officer is part of the minister's party.

The entire purchase deal is likely to cost over Rs[rupees]7,000 crore. It is, however, understood that the French are amenable to delayed payments and various other concessions, given the fact that all purchase are of second-hand equipment. "Even if the Alpha jets come relatively cheap, the fact remains that they will be about 10 years old," observed a senior officer.

Nearly 70 percent of Alpha jets likely to be procured will be erstwhile German Alpha jets. Given the re-unification of Germany in 1990 followed by the break-up of Soviet Union, the German air force (Luftwaffe) has planned a major reduction of its force-levels, which has meant retiring of all its Alpha jets by end 1992. As Alpha jet is a joint Franco-German collaborative project, the French Dornier partner is understood to have purchased all German Alpha jets for sale and to augment its own training fleet. While Larzac engine which powers Alpha jet is made by French company GRTS, Dassault of Germany had only designed and built the front and centre fuselage section.

With the production line of Alpha jet, which first flew in 1973 and is only with eight countries, six of which are in Africa, reportedly closed in 1986, India is likely to negotiate its purchase at cheap prices. With most countries around India and middle east flying the British

Hawk, buying the Alpha jet production line may prove counterproductive, as it will have little export potential," opined an officer.

The other consideration in favour of British Hawk advanced jet trainer is its compatibility with Jaguar and Hunter aircraft, facilitating maintenance by the air force. The HAL already manufactures Jaguar's Adour (MK 811) engine under license. The Hawk 60 (worldwide export version) is powered with Adour MK 861 and Hawk 100 and Hawk 200 with Adour MK 871. "It would be easier to manufacture these engines with further collaboration with UK Rolls Royce and Turbomeca," observed an officer.

As the instrumentation of the present advanced trainer Hunter, which is due to retire soon, and British Hawk are similar, little problems would have been obtained in handling and maintenance of Hawk by the air crew.

Obviously, the Alpha jet trainer deal is tied to likely purchase of 60 Mirage-2000 aircraft. What has been planned is that the present two squadron fleet (each squadron having 16 aircraft) of air-superiority Mirage-2000 be increased to a four squadron fleet along with war wastage reserves, according to sources. It is yet not clear whether India would be vying for multirole Mirage-2000N aircraft which is more versatile and capable of carrying nuclear payloads.

Moreover, with the prototype of the ALH having been test-flown, tieups are now being done with the French for joint-manufacture of the helicopter. This because, the project's German technical collaborator MBB, is now part of France-German company Eurocopter. While HAL can provide infrastructure facilities and human skills, the French are expected to invest capital in front-line technologies to be fitted in the ALH, according to sources.

While the government is certainly motivated by the package deal, and the air force has already given its acceptance of either Alpha jet or Hawk, senior service officers prefer the British Hawk as the advanced jet trainer on, at least, four counts.

First, the flying performance and range of Hawk is better than Alpha jet. Hawk 100 with advanced avionics and weapons systems is a superb ground attack aircraft. The Alpha jet is not cleared to fire air-to-air missiles.

Second, while the twin engine Alpha jet in comparison to single engine Hawk is hardly an advantage in small and light machines, the bird-strike problems are more pronounced in Alpha jet given its delicate engine. Moreover, a one minute limitation to warm-up the Alpha jet is a limiting factor on an operational mission.

Third, as an instructional aircraft, Hawk is reported to be superior to Alpha jet as the instructor has complete control from the back-seat. And, given the fact that the current fleet of Mirage-2000 aircraft is kept in air-conditioned hangars as its avionics malfunction beyond ambient temperatures of 35 degrees Centigrade, similar problems are likely in the Alpha jet.